

Mr. MORRISON: Committee on Claims. H. R. 1674. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Ollie Patton; without amendment (Rept. No. 808). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. MORRISON: Committee on Claims. H. R. 1851. A bill for the relief of the widow and three children of Greenfield Payne; with amendment (Rept. No. 809). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. SCRIVNER: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2193. A bill for the relief of G. Hinders; with amendment (Rept. No. 810). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. HOOK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2317. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Virginia M. Kiser; with amendment (Rept. No. 811). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. HEDRICK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2529. A bill for the relief of Earl J. Shows; without amendment (Rept. No. 812). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. STIGLER: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2545. A bill for the relief of Florida Rhone Burch; without amendment (Rept. No. 813). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. MORRISON: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2866. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Rita Chauvin Green; with amendment (Rept. No. 814). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BECKWORTH:

H. R. 3592. A bill to facilitate the construction of dormitories and other living quarters for married veterans receiving education or training under the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. RIZLEY:

H. R. 3593. A bill relating to the disposition of public lands of the United States situated in the State of Oklahoma between the Cimarron base line and the north boundary of the State of Texas; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida:

H. R. 3594. A bill relating to emergency hospitalization of veterans; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. ENGLE of California:

H. R. 3595. A bill to authorize mining, milling, or smelting loans, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. WELCH:

H. R. 3596. A bill to amend the Canal Zone Code; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. WINSTEAD:

H. R. 3597. A bill to make the point system in effect with respect to discharge or release from the Army applicable to the release of conscientious objectors from the work to which they have been assigned; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HARLESS of Arizona:

H. R. 3598. A bill authorizing annual payments to States, Territories, and insular governments, for the benefit of their local political subdivisions, based on the fair value of the national-forest lands situated therein, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. BEALL:

H. J. Res. 222. Joint resolution to amend Public Law No. 371, Seventy-eighth Congress; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. BLOOM:

H. J. Res. 223. Joint resolution to enable the United States to participate in the work of the Intergovernmental Committee on

Refugees, and to pay its share of the expenses of the Committee; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. VINSON:

H. Res. 304. Resolution authorizing additional clerical assistance and readjustment of salaries in the office of the Sergeant at Arms; to the Committee on Accounts.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of California, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States and the Surgeons General of the United States Army and Navy to consider the advisability of, and the special advantages to be derived from, establishing one or more military hospitals in mineral spring areas of California, and urging that affirmative action be taken in regard thereto; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Alabama, rescinding their adoption of House Joint Resolution 68, petitioning the Congress of the United States to call a convention for the purpose of proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States which would place limitations on taxes which Congress may levy on incomes and on taxes, duties and levies which Congress may levy on transfers of property in contemplation of, at, or after death or by way of gift, except in time of war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

Mr. ALLEN of Louisiana introduced a bill (H. R. 3599) for the relief of Ama L. Normand, which was referred to the Committee on Claims.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

1005. By Mr. COCHRAN: Petition of Bert Sullivan and 297 other citizens of Missouri, protesting against the passage of any prohibition legislation by the Congress; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1006. Also, petition of G. W. Cook and 320 other citizens of Missouri, protesting against the passage of any prohibition legislation by the Congress; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1007. By Mr. GOODWIN: Petition of the General Court of Massachusetts to Congress to investigate the activities of the Federal Social Security Board with particular reference to the merit-system requirements; to the Special Committee to Investigate Executive Agencies.

1008. By the SPEAKER: Petition of various citizens of the parish of Caddo, State of Louisiana, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to their endorsement of House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1009. Also, petition of the crew of the steamship *Art Young*, Liberty ship, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to their endorsement of House bill 2346; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

1010. Also, petition of Stanley March and various citizens of Illinois, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the extension of the Price Control Act; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

1011. Also, petition of the York Baptist Association at Albion, Nebr., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to postponing action on compulsory training of youth for military service until after the end of World War II; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

SENATE

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 27, 1945

(Legislative day of Monday, June 25, 1945)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Father of all, Thou hast not forsaken us, though we pass through the fires of suffering and dwell in the valley of sorrow. As Thou hast strengthened our arm to strike with righteous force those who plot war to achieve their evil purposes, so now, we pray Thee, steel the will of united peoples to seek peace and to renounce all aggression by the sword. To all nations whose faces now turn toward a new world linked in fellowship, grant faith which removes mountains, hope which rises above frustration, patience which will bear the strain of waiting, good will which cannot be discouraged, and forgiveness for those who repent, as we ourselves ask to be forgiven. In the dear Redeemer's name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. BARKLEY, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day Tuesday, June 26, 1945, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Maurer, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had disagreed to the amendments of the Senate to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 184) to continue temporary increases in postal rates on first-class matter, and for other purposes; asked a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. DOUGHTON of North Carolina, Mr. COOPER, Mr. DINGELL, Mr. KNUTSON, and Mr. REED of New York were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

The message also announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 3550) making appropriations for the Military Establishment for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1946, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

THE SAN FRANCISCO CHARTER—SUGGESTED DEPARTMENT OF PEACE

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, with some of the other members of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, I was privileged this morning to greet Secretary of State Stettinius, the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY] on their return to Washington. There was a goodly crowd present and a band. As these gentlemen came off the plane we were glad to note they were not worn out. They looked refreshed; they looked like men who had come from a far country but who had done a good job, and therefore felt refreshed. I think that is a

natural law of living—that one who does good naturally feels good.

Mr. President, on July 7, 1943, I spoke on the floor of the Senate in relation to a Department of Peace. I stated at that time that I craved for my Government the distinction of being the first Government on earth to establish a Secretary of Peace.

The establishment of such a secretariat would be heralded throughout the world, as was Woodrow Wilson's idea for a League of Nations. His great idea brought hope, but we know that the hope died, and the Second World War ensued.

The reason I speak particularly today about this thought is that last evening I happened to note that in the Washington Star, David Lawrence, that great thinker and American philosopher, made this statement:

Yes; President Truman will sign the United Nations Charter—

And, parenthetically, of course, we know that it was signed yesterday in Frisco by the members who were there representing the nations of the earth—the Senate will in due time ratify it—and then—

David Lawrence asks this question—and then what? Will the nations of the earth settle down to wait for a dispute to arise before bringing the machinery of the new league into action? Is that the way to prevent war—

He asks—

to let disputes develop over the years and see positions and prejudices harden, and then, when passions are high, try to find a way to cool them down?

Mr. President, it was with that thought in mind that I suggested on July 7, 1943, the creation of a Secretary of Peace, and in this very column, under a subhead reading "Senator WILEY's Idea," David Lawrence says:

Senator WILEY, of Wisconsin, Republican, had a good idea about this and made a speech about it in the Senate a year ago. He suggested that a Department of Peace be established, to concentrate and specialize on the maintenance of peace. Nothing came of it because at the time America was engrossed in war. Now the United Nations has set up an organization and the time has come for America to take the lead in establishing a special department of government to carry on the all-important work of our participation in such a league.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the entire article by David Lawrence be printed in the RECORD at this place.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF PEACE DECLARED UNITED STATES
NEED—WRITER WOULD FORM COMMISSION
HEADED BY STETTINIUS AND BYRNES
(By David Lawrence)

Yes; President Truman will sign the United Nations Charter, the Senate will ratify in due time—and then what? Will the nations of the world settle down to wait for a dispute to arise before bringing the machinery of the new league into action? Is that the way to prevent war—to let disputes develop over the years and see positions and prejudices harden, and then, when passions are high, try to find a way to cool them down?

Billions are spent for war and war preparations, but virtually nothing is spent to prevent war except when a crisis arises. Thus the State Department is in charge of our relations with foreign governments and has a multitude of business chores to do for American business and the individual with interests abroad, but there is no department of the Government which gives its undivided attention to the subject of peace.

SENATOR WILEY'S IDEA

Senator WILEY, of Wisconsin, Republican, had a good idea about this and made a speech about it in the Senate a year ago. He suggested that a Department of Peace be established, to concentrate and specialize on the maintenance of peace. Nothing came of it because at the time America was engrossed in war. Now the United Nations has set up an organization and the time has come for America to take the lead in establishing a special department of government to carry on the all-important work of our participation in such a league.

The American Commission to Preserve Peace might well be its name. It should consist not merely of representatives of the State Department, but also of the Treasury and Commerce Departments, as well as of both Houses of Congress. Such an over-all commission should have a special staff in the interest of efficiency, and to avoid any wires being crossed all communications should clear through the State Department. There is not the slightest reason why any duplication should occur between the State Department and the new commission. They can and should work together.

A man of Cabinet level should head up the American Commission to Preserve Peace and become thereby the head of the American delegation to the United Nations Conference. The first man to be given the post should be Edward R. Stettinius, who not only has served for nearly 2 years in the State Department and knows the background of that organization, but who has headed up the American commission at San Francisco. He now has made the acquaintance of diplomats throughout the world and knows the technique of conference and the meaning of the provisions of the new league's charter.

MORE THAN DOCUMENTS

With James F. Byrnes as Secretary of State and Mr. Stettinius as executive head of the American Commission to Preserve Peace, President Truman would be carrying into instant effect the desire of the American people to do more than just sign documents in order to prevent a third world war.

The chairmen of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee should be automatically members of the new commission which, of course, ought to have statutory sanction and be given a sizable appropriation by Congress. Such a department or commission with an adequate staff should constantly study and survey conditions, economic as well as political, throughout all countries in order to make reports to the American people of situations which, if aggravated, could become threats to the peace of the world.

Since moral force—and that means full publicity and a free press—is to be the chief instrument of prevention, inasmuch as major nations will not consent to be coerced by physical force or threats of such force, there is no reason why the American commission should not begin at once to exert such moral force.

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, yesterday on the floor of the Senate I stated, in substance, that thinking people all over the world were very much heartened because they felt that now America was in the international picture to stay.

That provided a source of great hope and faith to the peoples of the earth, and they felt that, perhaps, under our leadership—and pray God we are adequate to that leadership—an international mechanism—not simply a gesture, not merely a piece of human machinery inadequate because of the lack of vision—will become vitalized and do away with the scourge of war.

So I say great hope is brought to the peoples of earth, but, as David Lawrence suggests, if we have a Secretary of Peace, if it is his job—and he suggests in his articles that Mr. Stettinius be the first Secretary of Peace—if it is his job to do that which is necessary to attain peace, instead of spending his time in terms of what armaments are necessary, and if he keeps his eyes focused on the problems of earth and is adequate to seeing to it that conciliation and cooperation remain in the picture, then great and lasting good will result.

Mr. President, I repeat what I said a few moments ago when I referred to what I said back in July 7, 1943: "I crave for my Government the distinction of being the first government on earth to establish a Secretary of Peace."

When the last World War was over our purpose was as noble then as it is now; Wilson was recognized as the apostle of freedom; hope was triumphant, as it is now; the idea that the world could federate for security and peace was lodged deeply in the hearts and souls of men. It is now. The real question is whether or not there is the vital spirit in the hearts and minds and souls of the peoples of earth so that when they return home and begin thinking about commerce and rebuilding shattered lives they will not forget the antidotes to the causes of war. That, Mr. President, is why the Secretary of Peace was mentioned in this article by David Lawrence, who was kind enough in the United States News of July 16 to allow me two pages to discuss this important idea.

I only wish that some good Democrat would take hold of it and present a resolution. Perhaps it would then lodge in fertile ground where it might grow.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I should like to thank the Senator from Wisconsin for intimating that there might be a "good" Democrat.

Mr. WILEY. I would not hesitate to use that adjective "good." I know only good Democrats. I associate with none others. [Laughter.]

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed following my remarks an article entitled "Wanted: A Department of Peace," written by me, and published in the United States News for July 16, 1943.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WANTED: A DEPARTMENT OF PEACE

(By ALEXANDER WILEY, United States Senator from Wisconsin)

There are two powerful forces in the history of mankind—the force of military might and moral force.

We are doing our utmost to apply physical force to the enemy.

But are we doing our utmost to apply moral force to achieve the beneficent ends we seek—namely, peace?

In the midst of war, human nature remains basic. Psychological influences are present in time of war as in time of peace. We admit this when we speak constantly of our own morale or of the morale of the enemy people.

Many persons believe that the only way to win a war is to apply the utmost of physical energy and to hate the enemy. Many persons think that peace of an enduring nature can be achieved by continuing to hate and by continuing to hold in subjugation a conquered people for all time.

What is little realized is that peoples who are proud and virile, peoples who are conscious of an injustice done them, will remain sullen and unconquerable. Their minds and energies will be fixed on the best way to achieve revenge. This does not permit reconciliation or rebuilding. It interferes with the resumption of normal trade and keeps alive the fires of war. It means that armaments must be constantly kept on a large scale. It means tremendous burdens of taxation.

We maintain always two departments of national defense—War and Navy. We should maintain a Department of Peace.

The chief responsibility of the War and Navy Departments is to maintain at all times the best instruments of war.

The chief responsibility of a Department of Peace would be to maintain at all times the best instruments of peace.

Many observers will say that a Department of State has this duty now, but the Department of State has many duties, including that of determining under the President the policy of the Government in relation to international problems. This Department conducts negotiations pertaining to the protection of American rights and interests and the promotion of beneficial intercourse between the United States and other countries. It must concern itself with many complicated legal questions in parts of the world whose problems do not relate to the preservation of peace. It also performs certain domestic duties.

If a separate department given over entirely to the work of maintaining peace between all nations were established, it might, of course, find itself at variance with other departments of our Government, and this would be a healthy thing because the interest of maintaining peace might conceivably supersede some national or selfish interest of a commercial nature.

We must begin to think in terms of international brotherhood rather than national selfishness. We must begin to examine the roots of discord and learn something about the seeds of international conflict and disunity, and how to antidote the causes—how to pull up the tares of war and plant the wheat of peace.

We must not wait till hostilities are over to start on this vital task. We must begin now because while we are united in the common cause of war, we see more clearly than we shall see in the future the need of common action and common purpose at all times.

We must begin to exert our moral force even now because it is now that we must recognize that a Third World War can be built on the foundations of hate and discord sown in World War II. We must begin now to prevent that Third World War. We must not assume that a simple set of treaty provisions will keep the peace.

Many people think we would have had a better era after the last World War if our forces had marched into Berlin. We have heard that comment often. Yet we forget that Germany was completely disarmed last time. And there were treaty provisions which required that she be kept disarmed. For more than 10 years after the last World War, Germany was in a state of virtual military

impotence. It was not until 1933 under Hitler that she really began to rearm.

We had treaties which provided that Germany should not rearm. But the Allied Nations were too indifferent to these symptoms of war. They were preoccupied with themselves. As for us, we assumed that Britain and France were closer to Germany than we were. We took it for granted they would be alert to their own defense. But evidently everybody's business was nobody's business and today we have become involved in another World War.

Can we afford to let matters drift again? Should we not have a Department of Peace which shall fearlessly expose by means of the power of publicity and public opinion the trends toward war? Should we not have permanent, active, alert machinery of mediation and conciliation? Shouldn't we make it our business to take an interest in any dispute anywhere which might lead to bloodshed? And would the cost of a Department of Peace per year be as much as one-tenth of the cost of a single battleship? We can certainly set up a Department of Peace just as logically as we set up a system of insurance for our lives or our property.

We should organize a Department of Peace now not only to set in motion a mechanism for dealing with the problems at the peace table but to show the whole world that we mean to be energetic about peace even after the peace treaties are signed, and we should begin now to educate our people as to the basic reasons why friction between nations occurs.

A very important function of a Department of Peace would be to prevent the maintenance of any censorship of the press in times of peace. It is because peoples are misled by their own misrulers and forbidden to learn the truth about their neighbors across international boundaries that the seeds of war-hate are sown. An internationally free press is a prerequisite of peace. And since we are committed to the "four freedoms," we can start now through a Department of Peace to urge upon every nation that there be no censorship in times of peace.

We must go further even during this war. We must begin an examination of the basic reasons why Hitler and Mussolini were able to achieve a dictatorship. We must examine the economic causes of dictatorship and determine to what extent the acts of other nations bring on economic depression in the countries that have accepted dictatorship as a desperate last resort.

We must today begin to reach the hearts of enemy peoples. We must persuade them of the futility of clinging to their dictators. But what do we hold out for them? Imprisonment? Enslavement? Will not proud men fight to the bitter end rather than surrender or overthrow their rulers if by giving up they become subjugated for life? Must we not really emancipate them from their own dictators and prove to them that we mean to deal fairly, equitably, and in a civilized manner with them when they overthrow their leaders? We must make it clear that we intend to put on trial and to execute the criminal leaders responsible for the outrages against mankind, even if the number runs into hundreds. We must ferret out the instigators of these crimes against humanity. But as for the millions of men, women, and children, whose patriotism was whipped up to untold heights, by untruth and misrepresentation—have we only bitterness and permanent hate to offer them? The world cannot be free of war so long as we institutionalize hate and discord. We must instead institutionalize peace and unity. We can do this by the power of example, by the moral force of human beings everywhere who can offer a hand of friendship to conquered peoples and ask them to build with us a new world.

Many tens of thousands of lives—our soldiers and sailors and marines, too—will be

saved if this war is shortened. It can be shortened not by relaxing our physical force one moment, but by intensifying at the same time our moral force. We must reach the hearts of the German and Italian peoples. We must find in the residue of Christians in Germany and Italy—and there are many of them—the nucleus for reaching the others. We must speak to them constantly over the air, through the press, and above all, through the pronouncements of our statesmen. We must give an outline of the peace that is to come. Shall it be an outline that has in it no provision for the conquered and a division of material things only for the conquerors?

We cannot build a world of peace on the foundations of selfishness and hate. We can build a new world only on the foundations of unselfishness and friendship.

The moral force of this Nation which is at heart an unselfish Nation has not as effectively mobilized in this war as in the last war. We are behind in our program of peace. We have expressed in general terms our war aims, but we have not made definite our approach to enemy peoples. And it is to win them over—it was done before and it can be done again—that we must direct our major efforts today.

Moral force to be effective must be honest. It must not make pledges that are specious on their face. It must bring forth sincerity and genuine faith to make valid our words and our plans. We can shorten the war if we begin now to exert our moral force. And we can prevent World War III if we begin now to build the true foundations of international friendship. It is so large a responsibility that it needs the time and energy of an entire department of the Government. Let us establish a Department of Peace as a manifestation of our highest purpose for this year and all years.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

SUSPENSION OF DEPORTATION OF ALIENS

A letter from the Attorney General, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report stating all of the facts and pertinent provisions of law in the cases of 77 individuals whose deportation has been suspended for more than 6 months under the authority vested in him together with a statement of the reason for such suspension (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Immigration.

ADDITION OF PUBLIC DOMAIN LAND TO SUMMIT LAKE INDIAN RESERVATION

A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to reserve certain land on the public domain in Nevada for addition to the Summit Lake Indian Reservation (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

PERSONNEL REQUIREMENTS

A letter from the Administrator of the Office of Price Administration, transmitting, pursuant to law, an estimate of personnel requirements for that Office, for the quarter ending June 30, 1945 (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Civil Service.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate petitions and memorials, which were referred as indicated:

By the PRESIDENT pro tempore:

Resolutions of the General Court of Massachusetts; to the Committee on Finance:

"Resolution memorializing Congress to investigate the activities of the Federal Social Security Board with particular reference to the merit system requirements

"Resolved, That the General Court of Massachusetts hereby memorializes the Congress of the United States to proceed as promptly as may be in an investigation of the

activities of the Federal Social Security Board with particular reference to the merit system requirements; and be it further

"Resolved, That the joint standing committee on civil service of the general court, or such members thereof as said committee may designate, together with the director of civil service and the attorney general, or an assistant attorney general designated by him, be authorized to travel to the city of Washington, at an expense not to exceed \$1,500, for the purpose of there presenting to the select committee of the House of Representatives of the Congress to investigate acts of Executive agencies which exceed their authority, the grievances of the Commonwealth in the premises; and be it further

"Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent forthwith by the State secretary to the presiding officer of each branch of Congress and to the Members thereof from this Commonwealth."

A joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry:

"Senate Joint Resolution 20

"Joint resolution relative to endorsing and urging the passage of H. R. 2081, to permit the use of live decoys in the taking of ducks

"Whereas wild ducks are doing damage to agriculture in California, such damage to rice, lettuce, and other farm crops amounting to more than \$1,000,000 per year; and

"Whereas if duck hunters were allowed to use live or other decoys from blinds, the chance of obtaining a few birds would be made at least possible; and

"Whereas there is now pending before Congress H. R. 2081, to permit the use of six live decoys to each blind in the taking of ducks: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California (jointly), That we hereby endorse and urge the passage of H. R. 2081 of the Seventy-ninth Congress, first session, and respectfully request the Senators and Representatives from California in the Congress of the United States to give their support to this bill; and be it further

"Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded by the secretary of the senate to the President of the United States, the President pro tempore of the Senate of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, the United States Fish and Wildlife Service of the Department of the Interior, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

A joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Finance:

"Senate Joint Resolution 22

"Joint resolution relative to amendment of the Federal Social Security Act in respect to old-age assistance

"Whereas the present provisions of the Federal Social Security Act governing grants to States for old-age assistance are in need of reconsideration and liberalization, particularly that provision which requires the State agency, in determining need, to take into consideration any other income and resources of an individual claiming such assistance, including his earnings, and which is interpreted and applied to require the deduction of earnings of the recipient from the grant of assistance which he would otherwise be eligible to receive; and

"Whereas it is the consensus of the people and the Legislature of the State of California that recipients of old-age assistance ought to be permitted to supplement that assistance by their labor to a reasonable extent without deduction of their earnings, to the amount of \$20 per month, from the aid or assistance provided to them; that such

permission would not only improve the economic condition of the recipients, but afford them a share of the happiness and enhanced self-respect which results from participation in honest and needed work; and that it would make available, at this time when manpower is so sorely needed, an additional substantial working force; and

"Whereas we are informed that the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives in the Congress of the United States is presently engaged in an extensive social security study, and that numerous bills have been introduced in Congress directed to the liberalization of the Social Security Act in this and other desirable respects, including H. R. 65 by Mr. LANE, H. R. 637 by Mr. WICKERSHAM, H. R. 2582 by Mr. BUNKER, and H. R. 2964 by Mr. ANDERSON: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, by the Senate and the Assembly of the State of California (jointly), That the Legislature of the State of California hereby urges and memorializes Congress to continue the study of needed amendments to the Social Security Act, and to enact such amendments to that act as may be necessary to permit recipients of old-age assistance to earn up to \$20 monthly without deduction of such earnings from the amount of assistance to which they would otherwise be entitled; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Legislature of the State of California does hereby endorse those proposals now before Congress looking to the liberalization of the Social Security Act, and urges their favorable consideration; and be it further

"Resolved, That the secretary of the senate is hereby directed to send copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

Two joint resolutions of the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

"Senate Joint Resolution 27

"Joint resolution relative to current movements for a lenient peace with Japan, and memorializing the President and Congress to insist upon complete and unconditional surrender.

"Whereas rumors are now prevalent that preliminary peace overtures by Japan are in progress by way of sounding out neutral governments and, in one reported instance, by approaching an American diplomat in a neutral capital for the purpose of discussing peace possibilities; and

"Whereas there are further indications that Japan, in its efforts to obtain a more lenient peace, is attempting to sow seeds of disunity and suspicion between the United States and Great Britain on the one hand, and our great ally, Russia, on the other, by intimations that Great Britain and the United States will need a buffer against Communist Russia, and that Russia will require a like buffer against the capitalistic nations, which role Japan would be willing to assume in the so-called interests of world peace; and

"Whereas observers have detected an undertone of Japanese propaganda surrounding the United Nations Conference on International Organization, manifesting itself in the nationalistic movements and economic hopes of Asiatic contingents who are reluctant to merge with western civilization and still harbor resentment at old wrongs from Caucasian overlords; and

"Whereas these contingents, desiring freedom both from Japanese militarism and from prewar Caucasian influence, have expressed hopes of a Japan which is subdued militarily but left with industrial strength to serve as

a guide for their own economic progress and as a chief source of trade; and

"Whereas if compromise terms of conditional surrender are acceded to and Japan is enabled to maintain the remnants of her economic and political strength, she will be in a position to recover quickly from the ravages of war she has instituted; and

"Whereas unless Japan is utterly crushed and broken in this war and her power to make war forever destroyed, the Japanese people will regard defeat as a temporary setback and, in accordance with their fanatical faith that they are destined by their gods to conquer the world, will begin once again to build for another ruthless attempt at world conquest; and

"Whereas heretofore the United States Government has been adamant in its demand for a decisive and conclusive victory upon terms of unconditional surrender, so essential to the future well-being of the world: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California (jointly), That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully memorializes the President and the Congress of the United States to reject any compromise peace proposals which may be offered by or in behalf of Japan, and to insist upon complete and unconditional surrender; and be it further

"Resolved, That the secretary or the senate is directed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, the President pro tempore of the Senate of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

"Assembly Joint Resolution 45

"Joint resolution relative to memorializing the President, the Secretary of State, and the Congress to retain full control over Japanese owned or mandated islands in the Pacific which heretofore have been, or hereafter may be, captured by the United States in the course of the war

"Whereas numerous Japanese owned or mandated islands in the Pacific have been or hereafter will be captured by the United States in the course of the war; and

"Whereas efforts are being made by influences detrimental to the best interests of our country to transfer said islands, taken by us from the Japanese at bloody cost, to a so-called trusteeship dominated by foreign powers, thus depriving the United States of exclusive control of said islands; and

"Whereas it would be detrimental to the interests of the United States to allow the Pacific islands to be under the control of any foreign group; and

"Whereas the American people are demanding that these islands be retained as our outer line of defense and strongly resent any proposal to place these islands under foreign control: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, jointly, That the Legislature of California hereby respectfully urges the representatives of the United States to stand firm for American rights so that no foreign power or group of powers may intervene in the management or control of said Japanese-owned or mandated islands and that the United States retain full control thereof for the protection of our country against the aggression of any foreign power or group of powers in the future; and be it further

"Resolved, That the secretary of the senate is directed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the President

pro tempore of the Senate of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

A joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce:

"Senate Joint Resolution 28

"Joint resolution relative to memorializing Congress to enact H. R. 2536, Seventy-ninth Congress, first session, relating to the regulation of transportation companies

"Whereas the National Congress in the Transportation Act of 1940 specifically declared a national transportation policy to provide for fair and impartial regulation of rail, water, and highway carriers and declared that the Interstate Commerce Commission should recognize and preserve the inherent advantages of each method of transportation and should promote safe, adequate, economical, and efficient common carrier services, foster sound, economic conditions in transportation, and maintain reasonable rates without unjust discrimination, undue preferences or, unfair, competitive practices; and

"Whereas the welfare of the State of California in a large measure depends upon the several modes of transportation thus regulated to transport from this State to eastern markets the products of its fields, fisheries, mines, and factories, and this State is therefore vitally interested in the effective administration by the Interstate Commerce Commission of the national transportation policy of Congress; and

"Whereas the specialized nature of California's productive capacities, both industrial and agricultural, can only find outlet in markets beyond the boundaries of this State; and

"Whereas some confusion and uncertainty exists as to how and by whom Federal regulations of rates and services of common carriers should be administered and whether or not common carriers and shippers, both producers and consumers may consult and confer with regard to coordinated and efficient through transportation rates and practices; and

"Whereas there has been introduced in the Congress of the United States, H. R. 2536, which will unequivocally confer upon the Interstate Commerce Commission complete jurisdiction to supervise, approve, reject, and otherwise control all joint and cooperative arrangements and agreements between common carriers and between common carriers and shippers, and between joint agencies and associations of common carriers respecting the rates and services of all such common carriers; and

"Whereas the enactment of said H. R. 2536 will remove and set at rest the confusion and uncertainty presently existing with regard to the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission under said national transportation policy: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California (jointly), That the Legislature of the State of California hereby memorializes the Congress of the United States of America to enact H. R. 2536 in order that the powers and authority of the Interstate Commerce Commission may be clarified and confirmed without further unnecessary delay or confusion; and be it further

"Resolved, That the secretary of the senate is hereby directed to send copies of this resolution to the office of the President of the United States, and to each Member of the Senate and House of Representatives in the Congress of the United States from California."

Two joint resolutions of the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Military Affairs:

"Senate Joint Resolution 23

"Joint resolution relative to memorializing the President and Congress of the United States and the Surgeons General of the United States Army and Navy to consider the advisability of, and the special advantages to be derived from establishing one or more military hospitals in mineral spring areas of California, and urging that affirmative action be taken in regard thereto

"Whereas as World War II continues, it becomes increasingly evident that American casualties to soldiers and sailors will be in excess of one million; and

"Whereas soldiers and sailors who have received wounds or have been otherwise physically or mentally disabled are being returned in increasing numbers to the United States for convalescent and rehabilitation treatment, to make possible their return to the armed forces or to civilian life; and

"Whereas medical experience, during many years, has demonstrated the great value of mineral spring or properly conducted spa treatment for patients suffering from nervous and other physical and mental disorders; and

"Whereas California possesses many areas easy of access, with climatic and environmental conditions of highest order, in which treatment procedures such as those carried on in Saratoga Springs in New York and in Hot Springs National Park in Arkansas could be easily established; and

"Whereas additional governmental hospitals are still being authorized and erected by the military authorities: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California (jointly) at this fifty-seventh regular session of the legislature, That the President and Congress of the United States and the Surgeons General of the United States Army and United States Navy are hereby respectfully memorialized to consider the advisability of, and the special advantages to be derived from, establishing one or more military hospitals in mineral spring areas in the State of California, where in healthful surroundings and with appropriate spa structures and equipment, the convalescence, health, and rehabilitation of large numbers of invalided soldiers and sailors could be more effectively promoted and their return to useful military or civilian life be more definitely assured; and be it further

"Resolved, That as a result of such considerations, affirmative action be taken to accomplish the foregoing purposes; and be it further

"Resolved, That the attention of the President and Congress of the United States and of the Surgeons General of the Army and Navy is hereby called and redirected to Senate Joint Resolution No. 12, unanimously adopted by the Fifty-fifth California Legislature (Cal. Stats. 1943, Res. Ch. 52), on this same subject, copies of which resolution were transmitted to them upon its adoption; and be it further

"Resolved, That the chief clerk of the assembly is directed to transmit copies of this resolution, and of the senate joint resolution of the fifty-fifth legislature hereunto annexed, to the President of the United States, the Surgeons General of the United States Army and the United States Navy, to the President pro tempore of the Senate of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States; and that the Senators and Representatives from California be respectfully requested to urge such action."

"Senate Joint Resolution 32

"Joint resolution relative to memorializing the Congress of the United States to investigate through its appropriate committee the proposed construction by the War Department of an ammunition-loading facility in the county of Marin and to demand of the War Department that activities in connection with the said proposal be discontinued pending such investigation

"Whereas the War Department of the United States is contemplating the construction of major ammunition storage and loading depots in the central San Francisco Bay area; and

"Whereas it is planned specifically that an ammunition-loading depot with facilities for loading of four large ammunition ships at one time, will be located at California Point in the county of Marin, and that a magazine storage area will be located on 101 Highway opposite Hamilton Field Army Air Base in the said county, requiring the condemnation of 3,603 acres of the finest residential sites and 2,299 acres of the most desirable dairying lands in the State; and

"Whereas explosions such as occurred at Port Chicago, Halifax, and Calcutta, have demonstrated that such operations should be located as far as possible from major centers of population and industry; and

"Whereas the proposed location would be within 2 miles of San Quentin State Prison, within 3½ miles of major gasoline-loading docks at Point Richmond, within 4 miles of the Navy's gasoline and oil-storage depot at Point Molate, within 6 miles of major shipyards and oil refineries in Richmond, within 9 miles of Treasure Island where are stationed over 70,000 Navy personnel, within 9 miles of the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge, within 5 miles of the Golden Gate Bridge, and within less than 2 miles of the Marinship plant constructing Navy tankers at Sausalito, and would adjoin two important Navy installations at California City;

"Whereas over 100,000 people reside within a radius of 6 miles of the proposed ammunition-loading site, and over 500,000 within 12 miles of the site, in addition to the war plant, transportation, and armed forces facilities mentioned above; and

"Whereas claims were paid for damage resulting from the Port Chicago disaster involving the explosion of but one ship, as far as 24 miles away, and it is plain that a major explosion at the loading sites contemplated would paralyze the central bay area with tremendous property damage and possibly great loss of life; and

"Whereas the Marin Municipal Water District, the public agency supplying the only available water for domestic use of the 78,000 population of Marin County, has by official action after thorough study notified the Army that the water necessary for the personnel and other use of such bases cannot be furnished; and

"Whereas the appropriation of approximately 10 square miles of residential and potential residential areas in this suburban district would, without considering the hazard involved, constitute a blight upon this area; and

"Whereas it has been demonstrated that other more appropriate, more convenient, and more practical sites in less hazardous locations are available, and whereas the present facilities at Benicia are accessible to three transcontinental railroads and to deep-water channels while the proposal contemplated would involve the transportation of munitions directly past the Benicia facilities and over an additional 50 miles of single-track railway on which are located two tunnels and which involve various lateral railway connections; and

"Whereas it is apparent that the construction contemplated cannot be completed in less than 1 year's time and therefore is not essential to the immediate demands of the war in the Pacific and seems to bear closer relationship to the permanent intentions of the War Department upon this subject: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of California (jointly), That the Congress of the United States is hereby memorialized to cause through its House Committee on Military Affairs, or any other appropriate committee, the immediate investigation of the proposed facilities and the reasons and need therefor and the comparative availability of other sites for the purposes contemplated, whether they be for the immediate prosecution of the war in the Pacific or for a long-term program of Army preparedness; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Congress, or the California Representatives therein, or the appropriate committee which may undertake such investigation, be and it is hereby requested to make demand upon the Secretary of War that further activity in the matter of the afore-mentioned ammunition storage and loading facilities be discontinued pending such investigation; and be it further

"Resolved, That the secretary of the senate is hereby directed to transmit copies of this resolution to the Speaker of the House of Representatives; the President pro tempore of the Senate; to the Honorable CLARENCE F. LEA, Representative from the First California District; and to every Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States; and to the Honorable ANDREW J. MAY, chairman of the said House Committee on Military Affairs."

A joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys:

"Senate Joint Resolution 21

"Joint resolution relative to memorializing Congress to support H. R. 2867 and S. 868, authorizing annual payments to States, for the benefit of their local political subdivisions, based on the fair value of the national-forest lands situated therein

"Whereas stable income is essential to the efficient conduct of local functions of government; and

"Whereas the contributions to costs of local governments by national forest lands as presently authorized by section 500 of title 16 of the United States Code are fluctuating by reason of the basis upon which such contributions are calculated and determined; and

"Whereas, inadequacies in such contributions exist where national forest lands yield little or no current revenues pending their restoration to economic productivity or because of deferment of utilization of their natural resources is necessitated by sound principles of resource management and economy; and

"Whereas, to promote stability of local income and to avert such fluctuations and inadequacies there are now pending before Congress H. R. 2867, by Representative CORMER, of Mississippi, and a companion bill, S. 868, by Senator CORDON, of Oregon, authorizing annual payments to States, for the benefit of their local political subdivisions, based on the fair value of the national forest lands situated therein; and

"Whereas under such proposal the annual payments by the United States to the States, for distribution to counties, by reason of the existence therein of areas of national forest land, would be at the rate of 2 percent of the fair value of the national forest lands as determined and certified by the Secretary of Agriculture in the manner therein provided, such fair value as initially determined to be subject to annual adjustments, with a rede-

termination of fair value to be made by him at 10-year intervals; and

"Whereas it is desirable that such proposal should include authorization for similar payments based on the fair market value of national parks and other lands owned by the Federal Government and so situated; and

"Whereas, such proposal, if amended to authorize similar payments on national parks and other lands owned by the Federal Government, would embody an equitable, stable and practicable basis of contribution and would avert substantially fluctuations and inadequacies in contributions as presently determined and authorized; Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California (jointly), That Congress is hereby respectfully memorialized to support H. R. 2867 and S. 868 of the Seventy-ninth Congress, first session, with suitable amendments to authorize similar payments on national parks and other lands owned by the Federal Government, to the end that the purposes therein sought to be accomplished may be enacted into law; and be it further

"Resolved, That the secretary of the senate is directed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, the President pro tempore of the Senate of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, to each Senator and Congressman from California in the Congress of the United States, and to the Honorable CLAUDE R. WICKARD, Secretary of Agriculture of the United States."

A resolution adopted by the national executive committee of the Twenty-ninth Division Association, Baltimore, Md., favoring retention of Gen. George C. Marshall as Chief of Staff of the United States Army at least until the termination of the war against Japan; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

BRETTON WOODS AGREEMENT— PETITIONS FROM ILLINOIS

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, this morning I was presented with three volumes of petitions signed by thousands of citizens of Chicago, Ill., praying for the enactment of Senate bill 540, to provide for the participation of the United States in the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which is now pending before the Committee on Banking and Currency. The petitions were presented to me by Mrs. EMILY TAFT DOUGLAS, Representative at Large from Illinois, and the signatures have been obtained by the Illinois Bretton Woods Committee, which is a group of independent citizens of my State who are intensely interested in this monetary movement. I ask unanimous consent to present these three volumes of petitions and that they be referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

There being no objection, the petitions presented by Mr. Lucas were received and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

RESOLUTIONS BY NEBRASKA STOCK GROWERS ASSOCIATION

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, on June 14, 15, and 16 the Nebraska Stock Growers Association held their fifty-sixth annual business meeting at O'Neill, Nebr. This is one of the most important and active cattle producers' associations in the United States. Their membership comes mainly from the famous Sand Hills section of Nebraska, where are located some of the largest cattle ranches

of America. In addition to maintaining a very active association, they publish monthly one of the leading trade journals of the industry. I ask unanimous consent to present the resolutions adopted at the O'Neill meeting and that they be published in the body of the RECORD and properly referred, as they express the opinion of the leaders in the cattle industry, on such important current subjects as subsidies, ceiling and floor prices, Federal controls, and a number of other items of interest to Members of Congress.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the resolutions presented by the Senator from Nebraska will be received and appropriately referred.

To the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry:

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE FIFTY-SIXTH ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE NEBRASKA STOCK GROWERS ASSOCIATION, HELD AT O'NEILL, NEBR., JUNE 14, 15, 16, 1945

MEAT BOARD

We endorse the work of the National Livestock and Meat Board. They have rendered a valuable service to our armed forces in teaching our Army and Navy personnel to cook, prepare, and handle meat, and have it kept in its proper place in the American diet by demonstrating its nutritional value.

We also extend our thanks to the various agencies on the central markets who have collected fees for the National Livestock and Meat Board.

To the Committee on Banking and Currency:

SUBSIDIES

Subsidies, as used in our present food-price control, are inflationary and dangerous. The United States Treasury has already paid more than three-fourths of a billion dollars, only to leave money in the hands of people to encourage black-market operations.

We urge Congress to provide a plan that will withdraw these payments in a gradual and orderly manner and at a time when there is consumer purchasing power that will keep consumption at a high point and at prices that will maintain the stability of the cattle industry.

INCREASED CEILINGS

Recent changes in the beef program have been of little benefit to the feeder as the greater portion of the payments go to the processors. We, therefore, urge a fair increase in the retail price of A and double A beef, so that feed-lot operators will be encouraged in the production of finished beef.

FEDERAL CONTROLS

Government control of meat and meat prices is now confused and impossible of understanding due to duplicating and overlapping agencies. The duplication and lack of this control authority is responsible for a complete lack of public confidence, for black-market operations, and for the shortage of meat.

We commend President Truman for his wisdom in selecting Hon. CLINTON P. ANDERSON as Secretary of Agriculture, and we urge Congress to make Secretary ANDERSON the over-all authority in matters of food distribution, processing, ceilings, prices, etc.

SUPPORT PRICES

Suggestions have been made that a support-price program would provide a means of cushioning the inevitable postwar adjustment in cattle prices. Price support and production control, of necessity, must go hand in hand. We, therefore, oppose any price-support program as further regimen-

tation of our industry which we believe to be undesirable and impractical, and we urge our members to adhere to sound business practices and forego the lure of a price-support program.

To the Committee on Finance:

TARIFF

We believe that the postwar world will look to the United States for international economic leadership. As our own economy must be preserved, we urge Nebraska's delegation in Congress to exert every effort toward the maintenance of adequate tariff protection.

NATIONAL LIVESTOCK TAX COMMITTEE

We urge the continuation and support of the National Live Stock Tax Committee in their efforts in clarifying the regulations of the Internal Revenue office applying to fixed inventory methods in connection with sales of breeding herds, and to other tax matters.

We wish to extend our appreciation to those who have given their time and served on this committee.

To the Committee on Foreign Relations:

SANITARY EMBARGO

Economic conditions in the postwar period may be conducive to renewed attempts to modify our country's sanitary embargo against the importation of meat and meat products from countries where foot and mouth disease is known to exist. The embargo does not discriminate against any country, but operates only to protect American livestock and the American public from the ruinous effects of foot and mouth disease. Our own experience and the very recent experience of England in importing meat from infected countries prove the necessity of continued vigilance and we urge Congress and all responsible Federal officials to maintain the sanitary embargo in its present form.

To the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation:

The Nebraska Stock Growers Association is opposed to the creation of a Missouri Valley Authority, as proposed in the Murray and Gillette bills and as recommended by the President.

The sound and orderly development of the river and its tributaries can be achieved by other and less drastic steps. The Pick and Sloan plans now pending in Congress, can be reconciled to form the framework for river development through existing agencies, which we approve.

To the Committee on Interstate Commerce:

WESTERN MEAT RATE CASE

The favorable decision in the Western Meat Rate case accomplishes one of the goals of our association. We express our most sincere appreciation to Mr. Harry B. Coffee, president of the Union Stock Yards Co., and his staff for their effective and intelligent support given us during the progress of these hearings. We also express our thanks to the members of Nebraska State Railway Commission for their statesmanlike efforts on behalf of all Nebraska's people.

FREIGHT RATE CONTROL PASSED

It is extremely important to the livestock industry of this country that the railroads enjoy postwar stability and that under regulations of the Interstate Commerce Commission they shall continue to provide the Nation with efficient transportation service. The carrier-shipper method of considering rates through railroad traffic associations has been in active operation for more than 40 years, and the very essence of their operation is in giving publicity to changes in rates, charges, and practices, no matter by whom proposed, and

offering opportunity for free and open discussion. The arrangements thus set up for consideration of changes in rates, charges, and practices have proven satisfactory to the livestock shippers who pay the bills and have proven satisfactory to the public body to which Congress has entrusted the day-by-day exercise of its power to regulate transportation.

There is pending in Congress H. R. 2536, introduced by Representative A. L. BULWINKLE, of North Carolina. The purpose of this bill is to clarify questions raised as to how and by whom Federal regulation of rates and services of common carriers shall be administered, whether by an experienced agency of Congress, the Interstate Commerce Commission, which has a consistent and continuing policy, or the confusing and conflicting determinations of various courts under the antitrust laws: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Nebraska Stock Growers Association at their annual meeting at O'Neill, Nebr., June 14-16, 1945, That the Bulwinkle bill be enacted to further clarify the intent of Congress that regulation of carriers under the Interstate Commerce Act is the duty of the Interstate Commerce Commission and the several State regulatory commissions, to the end that the national transportation policy as set forth in the Transportation Act of 1940 shall be upheld.

Ordered to lie on the table:

WAR EFFORT

Thousands of our sons and daughters are in uniform fighting that American freedom may live on, and we again pledge our loyalty and devotion to every war effort of our Government.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Be it resolved, That all the acts and proceedings of the executive council of the Nebraska Stock Growers Association since the last annual meeting, held June 10, 1944, as set forth in the respective minutes of the meetings of the Nebraska Stock Growers Association, and the acts of the officers in the furtherance thereof, be and the same hereby are fully ratified, approved, and confirmed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. WALSH, from the Committee on Naval Affairs:

H. R. 1309. A bill to provide reimbursement for personal property lost, damaged, or destroyed as the result of an explosion at the naval air station, Norfolk, Va., on September 17, 1943; with amendments (Rept. No. 419); and

H. R. 3269. A bill further amending the part of the act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, and for other purposes," approved June 4, 1920, as amended, relating to the conservation, care, custody, protection, and operation of the naval petroleum and oil-shale reserves; without amendment (Rept. No. 420).

By Mr. FULBRIGHT, from the Committee on Education and Labor:

S. 714. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to provide compensation for employees of the United States suffering injuries while in the performance of their duties, and for other purposes," as amended; with amendments (Rept. No. 421).

By Mr. FERGUSON, from the Committee on the Judiciary:

S. 937. A bill to amend the act suspending until June 30, 1945, the running of the statute of limitations applicable to violations of the antitrust laws so as to continue such suspension until June 30, 1946; without amendment (Rept. No. 422).

By Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma, from the Committee on Appropriations:

H. R. 3550. A bill making appropriations for the Military Establishment for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1946, and for other purposes; with amendments (Rept. No. 423).

ENROLLED BILLS PRESENTED

The Secretary of the Senate reported that on June 26, 1945, he presented to the President of the United States the following enrolled bills:

S. 463. An act to amend section 927 of the Code of Law of the District of Columbia, relating to insane criminals; and

S. 607. An act to improve salary and wage administration in the Federal service; to provide pay for overtime and for night and holiday work; to amend the Classification Act of 1923, as amended; to bring about a reduction in Federal personnel and to establish personnel ceilings for Federal departments and agencies; to require a quarterly analysis of Federal employment; and for other purposes.

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. CHAVEZ:

S. 1197. A bill to authorize the War Food Administrator or the Secretary of Agriculture to adjust boundary disputes by settling claims to certain so-called Sebastian Martin grant lands, in the State of New Mexico; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

By Mr. FERGUSON:

S. 1198. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to sell certain property in the State of Michigan now occupied by the Weather Bureau and to acquire land in the State of Michigan for the erection of a Weather Bureau station; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. BAILEY:

S. 1199. A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the United States District Court for the Middle District of North Carolina to hear, determine, and render judgment upon any claim arising out of the death of L. W. Freeman; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MURRAY (for himself, Mr. HAYDEN, and Mr. MCFARLAND):

S. 1200. A bill to authorize mining, milling, or smelting loans, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. TOBEY:

S. 1201. A bill for the relief of Arthur F. Downs; to the Committee on Claims.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED

The bill (H. R. 3550) making appropriations for the Military Establishment for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1946, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

INCREASES IN POSTAL RATES ON FIRST-CLASS MATTER

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HOEV in the chair) laid before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives announcing its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 184) to continue temporary increases in postal rates on first-class matter, and for other purposes, and requesting a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, I move that the Senate insist upon its amendments, agree to the request of the House

for a conference, and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

Mr. WHITE. Will the Senator indicate what this legislation is?

Mr. GEORGE. This is the joint resolution extending first-class postal rates. The Senate made two amendments, which the House disagreed to, and requested a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the motion of the Senator from Georgia is agreed to; and the Chair appoints the Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT], and the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. BUTLER] conferees on the part of the Senate.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

Mr. REED, Mr. President, the Seventy-seventh Congress by resolution created a Special Committee to Investigate Production, Transportation, and Use of Fuels in areas west of the Mississippi River. The committee was extended through the Seventy-eighth Congress, and was extended up to June 30 of this year by the Seventy-ninth Congress.

It is necessary for the committee to hold one further meeting so as to conclude its work, as I hope. It has held numerous meetings, of which record has been made, and has submitted an interim report. A meeting of the committee has been arranged to be held in Kansas City on June 29 to consider matters relating to Missouri and Kansas, and I ask unanimous consent of the Senate to be absent for the purpose of attending that meeting, and for a few days after the meeting in order to give attention to matters which are crowding for my personal attention. I have not been home since the last election.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, leave is granted the Senator from Kansas.

TRIBUTE TO HON. CLINTON P. ANDERSON FROM THE SCOTTSBLUFF (NEBR.) DAILY STAR-HERALD

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President there appeared in a recent issue of the Scottsbluff, Nebr., Daily Star-Herald, an editorial that was very commendatory of President Truman in his selection of the Honorable CLINTON P. ANDERSON to become Secretary of Agriculture. The editorial also speaks most highly of Mr. ANDERSON, and I request that the editorial, which is short, be printed in the body of the RECORD immediately following my remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MR. ANDERSON'S OPPORTUNITY

The Truman administration has made friends for itself with a frank admission that the food situation is not good, and that most of the current evils, if not all, are attributable to bungling by Government agencies. Unfortunately, too many of those who did the bungling are still in position of power, and are working at cross-purposes with the

administration's effort to untangle the snarls.

Bungling has been painfully evident in bringing on the sugar crisis with which the Nation is faced. There was bungling in forcing a decline in domestic production. There was bungling in permitting Cuban interests to reduce production in a price-juggling manipulation.

Representative ANDERSON, a westerner who will become Secretary of Agriculture July 1, as well as over-all director of food production and distribution, is asking now that the sugar-beet acreage be increased. Unfortunately, the hour is no late that few areas can do anything about it in 1945. The best thing he can do is to clean out, and quickly all of the enemies of the domestic beet-sugar industry who flourished and rose to power in the Ickes and Wallace camps of the Government. If he will do that, and keep on encouraging production of more sugar, Mr. ANDERSON will make some rapid strides in overcoming the critical situation now existing, and will also do much toward building up the prosperity of our West.

QUESTIONS ABOUT GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITIES BY E. A. DETRICK

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I received a protest today from E. A. Detrick, of Caldwell, Kans., asking me some questions that I am unable to answer. Other Senators might be interested in some of the stories which are going around the country. Probably most are rumors; some of them rumors based on facts, some on fancy. I ask unanimous consent to have the letter printed at this point in the RECORD as a part of my remarks, and I should be glad to have the answers from those agencies of the Government which know the answers.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CALDWELL, KANS., June 23, 1945.

Senator ARTHUR CAPPER,
Washington.

DEAR SENATOR: In going about my town of Caldwell, I hear stories related by bankers, mechanics, preachers, officials, agents, laborers, farmers, truck drivers, and others. Many may be stretched, untrue, and, again, perhaps there is a lot of foundation for many.

From reliable sources I have heard recently—

Several carloads of horse manure were shipped from Maryland to Enid, at \$400 per car freight, Government expense, to fertilize ground in the air base. We are told there is lack of transportation facilities.

A Kansas port of entry is maintained here on Highway 81. A truck of frozen meat was checked through, going to a prisoner-of-war camp at Alva. They had difficulty in unloading at the camp, the reason being that their lockers were already loaded.

A truck driver going to this same camp, stopped in our store to buy a package of cigarettes. We had none. His remarks: "Beats hell; and I'm hauling a large quantity of cigarettes to the prisoner-of-war camp at Alva."

Three carloads of gasoline were shipped to a base in Nebraska; their tanks were full and the gas was forwarded to another base; they, too, could not unload it for the same reason; again it was forwarded to the third base, where it was accepted, and the freight agent, in collecting the built-up freight charges, noticed that on account of poor pipe connections in the unloading much of the gas was wasting. And though notified, the connection was not corrected.

A farmer told me, "My boy is in Germany and wrote me saying, 'Dad, you are just

plain nuts; I have just finished washing my shirt in a 5-gallon can of gasoline, then dumped the gasoline out.'"

A mechanic told me, "My son is in India, military service, and wrote me that the United States was paying the English \$15,000 a month rent for the first floor of a tea warehouse."

A truck driver said, "I haul gasoline to an air base in southeast Kansas, and when I cannot unload my full load, I must dump the balance."

We are told by commentators and newspapers, "Don't travel"; which goes in one ear and out the other, when we hear the famous dog story.

I heartily approve Fulton Lewis, Jr., making the exposé on certain contracts, and if the two parties representing the Government on one side and the contractors on the other do not get up and shout, then I will consider the Lewis information correct, and wonder why sweat to buy extra war bonds, when the money is poured down a rat hole.

I visit Wichita occasionally, and it's staggering to see the large number of buildings and parts of buildings the United States Government is occupying. And I firmly believe we don't need so much regulation. And I wonder why Congress, with its many capable men, puts up with tomfoolery. And then I think maybe Congress doesn't know it, or, if it does, maybe they are regulated, too, by the numerous alphabetical agencies created at the other end of the street, and are fenced in.

Certainly we must win the war. I have two grandsons now in and two more will reach 18 this summer and will go in. That's my all. If they are privileged to come back, I want them to be proud of these United States.

Sincerely,

E. A. DETRICK.

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE REAR ADM. FORREST B. ROYAL

Mr. HAWKES. Mr. President, we devoted last Monday to memorial services for Members of this body who have died while on duty in the Senate in the service of their country.

Today I rise to pay my respects and tribute to a great man in the armed forces of the United States, Rear Adm. Forrest B. Royal, who died on his flagship while on duty off Borneo in Brunei Bay.

As commander of the forces that spearheaded the recent operation against Brunei Bay, Borneo, he had just completed a most successful landing of the forces necessary to carry on against the Japs in that territory.

In the mad rush of today's world we are apt to forget what men have done and are doing, because they are out of sight, and we only hear of their exploits and accomplishments.

Admiral Forrest B. Royal was one of the finest characters I have ever known. He was a great American, with unusual talent and ability, and demonstrated a devotion to this country which could not be surpassed by anyone.

Admiral Royal, who was a native of New York, graduated from the United States Naval Academy, at Annapolis, in 1915. He served on the battleship *Wyoming* until April 1917, when he was made assistant communications officer of the battleship *Pennsylvania*, which was the flagship of the fleet during World War I.

He later served as aide and flag lieutenant to Rear Adm. Philip Andrews,

and was named gunnery officer on the staff of Vice Adm. William H. Standley at the end of World War I.

He subsequently became aide to Admiral Standley, and accompanied him to Washington in 1933, when Admiral Standley became Chief of Naval Operations.

From 1936 to 1938 he was in command of the U. S. S. *Porter*, which was a destroyer leader.

Not being satisfied with what he was learning in the regular routine of Navy service, he attended the Naval War College, senior course, in May 1939, and then served as a member of the naval mission to Brazil before the outbreak of World War II.

At the outbreak of World War II he he commanded the cruiser U. S. S. *Milwaukee*, which plied the South Atlantic, keeping shipping lanes cleared of submarines from August 1941 to December 1942.

Later, in his capacity as United States Secretary to the Combined Chiefs of Staff, he accompanied President Roosevelt to the conferences at Quebec, Cairo, and Tehran.

As commander of Group Six Amphibious Forces in the Pacific Ocean, he successfully completed five important landings, at Leyte, Lingayen, Mindanao, Tarakan, and Brunei Bay, Borneo.

For the outstanding success in the landing of amphibious task groups operating against Leyte and Luzon in the Philippines he was awarded the distinguished service medal. This medal was recently awarded by the President of the United States, and it is not known whether the Admiral received the medal and the citation before he was called into the great beyond.

Admiral Royal was born in February 1893, so that he was a very young man to occupy the important post he held in the Navy.

It is seldom that a man has the opportunity, as I had, to watch a young man develop the character and ability and accumulate the experience which are necessary to perform in the interest of our country as Admiral Royal did, and then have the great privilege that came to me to vote in the Senate for his confirmation as an admiral.

I recall a conversation I had with Admiral Royal when he was a young man in his late twenties. I was much impressed by his poise, his sound judgment, and the knowledge he had accumulated regarding the human family. He was one of the young men whom I wished to bring into my business, and I talked with him a number of times, finally making him an offer of compensation that was many times what he was receiving from the Navy and several times what he would receive if he reached the top of the Navy. I remember his well-considered answer, when he said, "I appreciate the compliment you have paid me, but, after all, I have decided to give my life to the Navy and to my country and I do not believe I would ever be happy in any other service." He further said: "After all, the making of money is a minor matter as compared with doing what one believes to be his duty and

through doing that finding happiness and satisfaction."

I recall this conversation as vividly as if it had been yesterday, and I wish every American boy could understand the full importance of what it meant to him to make that choice under the circumstances because, after all, neither he nor his wife nor his family had any great amount of worldly goods.

I am going to take a moment of the Senate's time to read the citation given to Rear Adm. Forrest E. Royal by the President of the United States for his services at Leyte and Luzon:

For exceptionally meritorious service to the Government of the United States in a duty of great responsibility while serving as commander of an amphibious task group during the preparation for and throughout our assault operation against the enemy Japanese-held islands of Leyte and Luzon in the Philippines from July 1944, to January 1945. A resourceful tactician and brilliant leader, Rear Admiral Royal displayed exceptional ability in organizing and training the forces under his command into a smoothly functioning unit and in formulating plans for the invasions, working tirelessly and with meticulous attention to the most minute details incident to our landing operations. A master of amphibious warfare deeply imbued with the spirit of combat, he maintained his force at the peak of battle efficiency, contributing immeasurably to the successful accomplishment of the missions assigned to his command, with minimum loss in personnel and material. His outstanding professional skill, daring aggressiveness and valiant devotion to duty throughout were essential factors in the success of our sustained drive toward a fanatic, determined enemy in the Pacific theater of war and reflect the highest credit upon Rear Admiral Royal, his gallant command and the United States naval service.

When Admiral Royal left for the Pacific he came to see me, and I told him I hoped he would be back soon. He replied, "I will be back when my duty is performed and I hope the task may be finished soon." Duty was always uppermost in his mind, just as it was uppermost in the mind of Robert E. Lee and other great men who have served their country.

Admiral Royal, as a young man, showed his excellent judgment in choosing and winning as his life partner Katherine Knight, the daughter of the famous Admiral Austin K. Knight, who had full command of the Pacific Fleet in the last war, but who passed on to his reward many years ago.

It is said a man's success in life is often measured by the kind of a wife and family he has. Admiral Royal and his wife have two daughters who are as fine young women as are to be found in this country, and those three women have taken this great sorrow just as a soldier's family should take it—with their chins up and a determination to carry on in their duty as a tribute to their husband and father.

In paying my respects and tribute, and expressing my affection for this fine soldier, who has been called into the Great Beyond at the early age of 52, I wish to express my high regard and deepest respect for all of the great men in our fighting forces who have made the

supreme sacrifice in defense of their country and the justice which it seeks for all the people of the world.

I have had an opportunity recently to survey many of the men who have been doing a job on the firing line, and I can assure the Senate that every American would be proud of them if he could see what they are doing and the conditions under which they have done it.

In closing this tribute to my beloved friend, Forrest Royal, I wish to use one verse from Douglas Malloch's poem, *A Comrade Rides Ahead*:

Not weaker now our chain, but stronger;
In all our loss and all our ill
We now shall look a little longer
At ev'ry star above the hill
And think of him, and have him still.

James Whitcomb Riley expressed my views on death when he said:

I cannot say, and I will not say
That he is dead,
He is just away!
With a cheery smile, and a wave of the hand,
He has wandered into an unknown land,
And left us dreaming how very fair
It needs must be, since he lingers there.
And you—oh you, who the wildest yearns
For the old-time step and the glad return,
Think of him faring on, as dear
In the love of There as the love of Here;
Think of him still as the same I say:
He is not dead—he is just away!

THE FUNDAMENTAL CONFLICT—ADDRESS BY SENATOR ROBERTSON

[Mr. ROBERTSON asked and obtained leave to have printed in the *Record* a radio address entitled "The Fundamental Conflict," delivered by him at Washington, D. C., on June 26, 1945, which appears in the Appendix.]

RECLASSIFICATION OF POSTAL EMPLOYEES—EXPLANATION OF H. R. 3035

[Mr. MEAD asked and obtained leave to have printed in the *Record* a section-by-section explanation of House bill 3035 providing for the reclassification of postal employees, which appears in the Appendix.]

PROPOSED FEDERAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT—EDITORIAL COMMENT

[Mr. HATCH asked and obtained leave to have printed in the *Record* an article by Frank R. Kent, from the *Washington Star* of June 25, 1945, and three editorials; one entitled "Labor's Blind Spot" from the *Washington Sunday Star* of June 24, 1945, one entitled "Bid for Industrial Peace" from the *Washington Star* of June 21, 1945, and one entitled "Faith in Union Contracts" from the *Washington Daily News* of June 25, 1945, all relating to the proposed Federal Labor Relations Act, which appear in the Appendix.]

PROPOSED FEDERAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT—EDITORIAL COMMENT

[Mr. BALL asked and obtained leave to have printed in the *Record* an article entitled "Labor's Long Pants" by Thomas L. Stokes, from the *Washington Daily News* of June 26, 1945, and an editorial entitled "Labor Legislation" from the *Washington Post* of June 24, 1945, both relating to the proposed Federal Labor Relations Act, which appear in the Appendix.]

PROPOSED FEDERAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT—EDITORIAL COMMENT

[Mr. BURTON asked and obtained leave to have printed in the *Record* an editorial entitled "Revising the Labor Laws," from the *New York Times* of June 23, 1945, and an editorial entitled "For Industrial Peace,"

from the Cleveland Plain Dealer of June 21, 1945, which appear in the Appendix.]

ACTIVITIES OF THE OPA—LETTER FROM JOHN W. ANDERSON

[Mr. WILLIS (for himself and Mr. CAPEHART) asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a letter, dated June 16, 1945, from John W. Anderson, president of the Anderson Co., of Gary, Ind., with regard to the activities of the OPA, which appears in the Appendix.]

QUALIFICATIONS OF MR. JUSTICE DOUGLAS FOR SECRETARY OF STATE—EDITORIAL FROM THE OREGONIAN

[Mr. CORDON asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an editorial entitled "This Is That Time," proposing the appointment of Justice W. O. Douglas, of the United States Supreme Court, to be Secretary of State, published in the Oregonian of May 29, 1945, which appears in the Appendix.]

EFFECT ON AGRICULTURE OF OPA ADMINISTRATION—LETTER FROM OMAR C. SPENCER

[Mr. CORDON asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a letter from Omar C. Spencer to the Portland Oregonian with regard to conditions in agriculture resulting from OPA administration, which appears in the Appendix.]

THE SHORTAGE OF TEACHERS—ARTICLE BY MALVINA LINDSAY

[Mr. FULBRIGHT asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an article by Malvina Lindsay entitled "Who Will Teach?" published in the Washington Post of June 27, 1945, which appears in the Appendix.]

POSTWAR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS—LECTURE BY THE AUXILIARY BISHOP OF CHICAGO

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, in recent months, the religious leaders of our Nation have been giving increased attention to our postwar economic problems. In many areas of the country they are taking a position of leadership in pointing out the need for sufficient opportunities for useful and remunerative employment for all Americans who are willing and able to work.

A few days ago my attention was called to an address by the Most Reverend Bernard J. Sheil, senior auxiliary bishop of Chicago, who is my personal friend. The address was delivered before the Social Science Forum, Siena College, Loudonville, N. Y. In view of the great significance of Bishop Sheil's address, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record at this point, in connection with my remarks.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

A WORLD A MAN CAN LIVE IN

The war in Europe is at an end. The tribulation and the passion of Europe are over. There is gratitude; there is joy. There is only a nameless sorrow for those whose loved ones paid the supreme price for our victorious liberty.

But the war is not yet finished. In the vast reaches of the Pacific, the gods of war still rage in undiminished fury. We cannot rest, we shall not rest, until the last vestige of resistance is extinguished. We cannot rest, we shall not rest, until this hideous thing, totalitarianism, and the evil men who spawned it are forever banished from the civilized world.

Yes, the war in Europe has ended victoriously. And we are certain that, in God's

good time, the war in the Pacific will be crowned with triumph. But victory shall not mark the end of the struggle. For, beneath the clash of arms, beneath the din of battle, there lies a much greater struggle: a struggle of the people of the world. It is a social revolution; this is the accepted premise for any discussion about the future. The social revolution is a very present reality. It is here, whether we like it or not. We must come to grips with it and work with it. We cannot escape it. And the central question of the revolution is whether the reconstruction of the world is to be achieved really with the people, for the people, by the people.

No one has more beautifully expressed this than Plux XII in his Christmas message of last year: "Moreover—and this is perhaps the most important point—beneath the sinister lightning of the war that encompasses them; in the blazing heat of the furnace that imprisons them, the peoples have, as it were, awakened from a long torpor. They have assumed, in relation to the state and those who govern, a new attitude—one that questions, criticizes, distrusts."

In other words, there is a yeasting among the people, a ferment in the world. The Pope notes an abhorrence of all that is past and a feverish desire for reform. He sees over the world a desperate craving for liberty and an unquenched thirst for self-determination. The awakening of the peoples is a revolt on the part of the common people against the concentration of dictatorial power that cannot be censured or touched. Restless and impatient, the people are becoming more conscious of the social order in which they live. They are criticizing all social organizations and institutions because they realize that these organizations and institutions, which they support, have a very practical bearing on their lives.

But precisely what is this revolution? What is the issue of the revolution, as of this war? It is man; his dignity and his liberty. The revolution is a popular movement for the revindication and the attainment of full human rights for all people. It is a concerted effort to reestablish the primacy of the human person, in a world dominated by selfish, cynical, and self-willed men. It is an anguished and angry protest against a world stripped of meaning and of common human decency.

But the revolution is only one part of a war which we have never won. It is a war that will not be decided by military victory. It is a war that is as old as man; a war which has been fought since the first time, so long ago, that special privilege and selfishness and greed lifted their arrogant and pompous heads. It is a war that has been carried on, with varying degrees of acuteness and bitterness by all the despots of the world against the poor, the disinherited, the dispossessed. It is the war against decency, righteousness, and freedom, waged by all the economic Bourbons of history and of the present day, against the little man, the worker, the people. It is the fight for freedom, for security; it is the fight for sufficiency and the full life. It is the war, as old as man, against man's inhumanity to man. It is the war for a world a man can live in.

Here in America the war for a world a man can live in has developed further than anywhere else. America stands today as the symbol of hope and the aspiration of freedom-loving people everywhere. Yet, even here, in the land of the free, there is a mighty tide of suffering and injustice. Even here, in the land of plenty, there is hunger and want. But all is not black, because, here in the United States, we possess today the means to overcome this injustice and oppression. Now, as always, in our history, ways and means to effect a decent social order are at hand, if we will only be wise enough to use them.

For the building of a sound social order, we must turn first to the traditional concept of man. And this is simply the Christian concept. Without this, nothing can be built. In this evaluation of man, we learn that man is made in the image and likeness of God; he is, therefore, of immeasurable value. We learn that men have been redeemed by Jesus Christ; their value is enormously increased. We learn that God is our Father; and Christ our Brother. Man is free; he is innately superior to all social, economic, or political institutions. Man is the shaper, the maker, of the state. Man is the foundation and the end of the state. We find in this Christian notion of man our strongest motivation for the rebuilding of the world.

With this idea of man as the very foundation of our desires for a new world, we can go on to ways and means of rebuilding the world. First, I offer for your consideration the concept of full employment. Let me state emphatically my belief that full employment is possible in America; secondly, that unemployment is unnecessary. I have no patience with that school of thought which maintains that business depressions and mass unemployment are inevitable. They are inevitable only because stupidity, obstinacy, greed, and fear have made them so. Depressions and widespread unemployment are not acts of God; they are produced by us through our inhuman economic practices. We believe that it is necessary to organize the world for the preservation of international peace. Why should we not organize our own society to preserve economic peace and avoid economic disaster? International peace will never be assured until we achieve economic justice for all people. The people will not accept economic and social first-aid, when economic and social surgery is required.

For this reason, I think the proposed Murray full-employment bill is a providential weapon in the building of a world a man can live in. No reasonable man can oppose its desirable goal, a goal which vitally affects the well-being of everyone in the Nation. It is important to note that the projected full-employment plan contains no hint of that totalitarianism which its opponents allege. The will of the people, expressed through their freely elected representatives, can hardly be termed totalitarianism. The bill is based upon the premise that men make depressions; and upon the further premise that men can avoid depressions, through economic daring and bold statesmanship.

What are we offered by the opponents of full employment? It is strange but true, that there are some who do not wish our representative Government to undertake such a plan. They wish to leave the postwar unemployment problem to the natural forces of private enterprise; as if the jungle tactics of unrestrained competition were natural. Nothing less than a full program of jobs for all will fill the needs of postwar America.

Closely related to the concept of full employment is the concept of the guaranteed annual wage. The annual wage is no dreamy speculation of impractical planners. It is a hard-headed and potent instrument for the construction of a world a man can live in. It is likely that no other single measure would do more to bring about the traditional American dream of a social order worthy of man. It is a very obvious means of aiding men to achieve their temporal and eternal end as human beings and children of God. This principle alone gives the annual wage sound moral justification. A very apparent benefit of the annual wage would be the increased stabilization of family life. Who can measure the good this alone will give us, since a strong family life is the basis of a strong nation? There will be a happier atmosphere in the home with a secure income; there will be a growth of self-reliance in men and hope for the future. If we have secured

security for corporations, why should we not secure security for the men who sustain the corporations? If there is security for corporations, surely there should be security for the men who make the profits possible.

The guaranteed annual wage in American industry can be achieved freely. The best proof of this is that, of the plans now in operation, all were undertaken at the initiative of private industry. Although the annual wage falls upon some ears with a sinister sound, it is pleasant to acknowledge that far-sighted businessmen have contributed much to the new plan. But the success of the annual wage in a few industries is a challenge to other industries to demonstrate further their vaunted initiative.

And, again, for the building of a world a man can live in, I strongly urge that labor unions extend their activities beyond a mere definition of wages and hours and the settlement of isolate grievances. These are the minimum actions of any labor union. I submit that all labor unions must participate in the management of industry. This is not a bid for anarchy; but a bid for that form of partnership which would permit a graduated share in the ownership and profits of business and also some voice in its management. Surely this is not an excessive demand on the part of labor. It is not a question of labor taking over management, lock, stock, and barrel. It is simply the workers' request that they should have a voice in things that affect them vitally.

The economic reason for such union-management cooperation need not be elaborated at length. It is the need for job protection and for proper living wages. Another reason for such cooperation is the need of the individual worker for self-expression and freedom at work. And the worker needs to feel satisfaction in his daily job, to which so much of his life is devoted.

Union-management cooperation enables the laborer to become a citizen of industry, not a subject. It is the extension of the principles of democracy into industry, and the best means of saving industry from any fear of the future. Union-management cooperation is an instrument through which all persons in industry participate at all levels in working out their mutual problems. Our fabulous wartime production is an amazing proof of the effect of unity and cooperation. If capital and labor united to preserve the ideal of freedom and equality, surely they can do the same to make freedom and equality real in our economic life.

It has been well said that we must rid ourselves of the belief that labor is an inert, impersonal commodity, and meet labor's demand for recognition as human beings. Fourteen years ago, Pius XI gave expression to this desire of labor: "In the present state of human society . . . We deem it advisable that the wage contract should, when possible, be modified somewhat by a contract of partnership, as is already being tried in various ways to the no small gain both of the wage earners and of the employers. In this way, wage earners are made sharers in some sort in the ownership, or the management, or the profits."

These are some of the things necessary for the erection of a world a man can live in. They are based upon the conviction that the industrial might of America must serve the people. Business must develop a social consciousness and be aware of its community responsibilities. Industry does not exist in a vacuum; on the contrary, it has marked and often terrible influence upon all of us. These proposals are a call to business to abandon the theory that business is an absolute, without relation to anything else. They are an invitation to business to participate in the expansion of democracy, and to assist in establishing that economic security without which democracy will surely die. A private enterprise that disregards public welfare cannot endure.

Further, a world a man can live in must be free from the deadly disease of race prejudice. If we are truly Christian, we cannot preach one thing and practice another. Nor, if we are truly democratic, can we preach equality and deny it to millions of our fellow Americans. We recoil with horror from Buchenwald and from Dachau. We cannot find words adequate to describe our revulsion. Yet, are our hands quite clean? Can we denounce the appalling atrocities in Germany and ignore our own practices? Our own hands are stained with the same brush. We decry racism and its fiendish injustices; yet we participate blandly in similar practices in our own Nation. We have not erased racism from the conscience of the world by defeating Germany. It is still a live and bitter issue to millions of Americans that very day. I am thinking of the toiling and sweating Negro; of the hated and driven Jew; of the bewildered and lonely Mexican; of the isolated, cowering Nisei.

I deplore and I disavow with all the strength of my being the hate which is deliberately fostered by persons who call themselves Americans. I hate the hate which tries to twist and pervert the American spirit into an unlovely, unlovable thing. As Jacques Maritain has said, "It is possible that in a few years this country may have to defend itself against the spiritual wave of destruction of human values which for a time submerged Europe . . . (America) would then see undisguised before her the face of evil and evil's reality." I am convinced that America already sees the face of evil in the hideous shape of race bigotry, which is the first step toward full-blown fascism. I am nauseated by our native Fascists, who use racism as a weapon of political and economic domination. I am sickened and ashamed by those religious leaders, of all beliefs, who do not use race at all, for any purpose, but simply ignore it. I despise the meagerness of spirit and the bleakness of soul represented by this monstrous thing, race prejudice.

And, for the building of a humane social order, an alert, informed citizenry is of paramount importance. We, the people, must be aware of the power we can wield. We must acknowledge that we are responsible, each to all, and all to each. This responsibility is to be exercised carefully. The most obvious means of doing this is to vote and vote intelligently. To do this, we must scan the records of all who seek public office. If they do not measure up to the tasks confronting them, they must be rejected without compunction. We must choose men of vision and imagination; men of solid Christian convictions; men of straight and steady judgment. These are extraordinarily high ideals of political leadership; but, for a democracy, the quality of leadership is a question of life and death. And let us not think that our job as citizens is finished after we have voted. Being a citizen of a democracy is an every day job, for all the year. We, the people, are the Government every day, not only on the days we mark our ballots. This means that all of us, with our elected representatives, are partners in a joint venture for the common good.

Strangely enough, there are people who oppose any such change in the existing social order. These are the men who fight fiercely for the status quo; which, by now, should be an object of curiosity for anti-quarians. Every measure of social enlightenment makes them quiver with fear. And they warn us of the imminent threat of communism. But I have always believed that America need never fear communism. For communism is no danger in a society where justice and charity prevail. Communism is no threat in a decent and humane economic structure. If we work indefatigably to bring about a Christian economy in accordance with the magnificent teachings of the Popes,

we shall strike the most telling blow against communism. Communism is not attractive to men and women who are well-housed, well-fed, and well-clothed. It would be no threat, if we would implement the fertile truths of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution; truths which we have too long regarded as oratorical flourishes; truths which we have too little regarded as seeds of dynamic democracy.

But, it is idle to think that we can pursue this objective in America alone. It is a pernicious fallacy to delude ourselves that we can build here a social order without regard to the rest of the world. It is childish fantasy to think we can pursue this end in narrow isolation. If God is our Father, then we are all brothers. The consequence of this brotherhood is an indissoluble bond, a bond which utterly precludes indifference to our fellow men. Everything we do in America has repercussions everywhere else. Full employment is impossible here if there is economic disaster in other nations. The good life in America is but a tantalizing mirage if the rest of the world languishes in slavery and want. The full life become only a macabre joke if other nations suffer from oppression and injustice. Our responsibility to do within our borders either helps or hinders other nations must be respected. What we owe other nations; Hitler's Germany is proof enough of this. In a world of total social and economic interdependence, it is dishonest for us to pretend that we can do as we please.

It is our national responsibility to be international in our outlook. Let us resist the siren call of isolationists who offer us a never-never land, if we will cut ourselves off from the world. They promise us security, but it is a security bought at the price of indifference to the suffering and misery of millions. They promise us freedom, an illusory freedom, bought at the price of utter disregard of the countless human beings who will be forced to live in bondage. If we yield to the isolationists, the world will become little more than an armed camp. All men will live in continual alarm. Our valued freedom and security will be mocking illusions. And we can expect with certainty a catastrophic third world war.

Events of the past years have made the arguments for or against internationalism largely academic. International organization is no utopian speculation, but a vital issue on which our lives and the existence of our civilization depend. As the Catholic bishops so clearly pointed out in November of 1944: "There is an international community of nations. God Himself has made the nations interdependent for their full life and growth. It is not, therefore, a question of creating an international community but of organizing it." I consider it mandatory for us to support the organization set up in San Francisco and to cease vicious criticism of it. If it contains imperfections, then let us work to eliminate them. But, for the preservation of civilization and Christian values, let us accept this organization, and work with all other nations, for the erection of a world a man can live in.

If ever a lesson was taught in galling and bitter experience, it is the lesson of unity, the unity of all people and of all nations. The future peace cannot endure, unless the unity of mankind is recognized. Pius XII has said: "On the recognition of this principle hangs the future of the peace. No world reform, no peace guarantee can abstract from it without being weakened and without being untrue to itself." For international order, the Pope insists upon a vivid and practical realization of human brotherhood: ". . . there is only one way of getting out of the meshes in which war and hate have wrapped the world; namely, a return to the solidarity, too long forgotten, a solidarity not restricted to these or those

peoples, but universal, founded on the intimate connection of their destiny and rights * * * This is a splendid restatement of very Christian concepts: the union of all men under the fatherhood of God and in the brotherhood of Jesus Christ. All men are brothers; because they can trace their ancestry to God, the same God who is Father to all. This is the religious meaning of that solidarity which is the bedrock of democracy and of the international family of nations.

With this foundation, men can live through the shocks of the present and look forward with equilibrium to the uncertainties of the future. On no other foundation can mankind rebuild the world into a place fit for the sons of God, the brothers of Christ. On no other foundation can men build a world a man can live in.

In the reconstruction of the world, Catholics must take a more active part. Catholics have already done much, finding their inspiration in the unparalleled social pronouncements of the popes. But far more could be done. Priests must know that basic changes are occurring. They must recognize that solutions to the social problems cannot be found in aloof detachment. And they must realize that the social problem is all around us. The social problem is the poverty of the slums, breeding grounds of disease and crime; the social problem is the despair of a jobless father; the social problem is the gaunt face of an undernourished child; the social problem is the bewildered boy caught in the meshes of his own weak will and forces beyond his comprehension; the social problem is the spiritual emptiness of a lonely people in a dark world. The social problem is the obstinate, selfish greed of men who deny that they are their brother's keeper. The social problem is injustice wherever it exists, in whatever form. From Leo XIII to Pius XII, the popes have asked priests to win back the workingman to the church. "Go to the workingman, especially where he is poor, and, above all, go to the poor," said Pius XI. "The great scandal of the nineteenth century is that the church lost the working class." May it be the great glory of the twentieth century that the church won back the working class.

To win them back, it is increasingly clear that we of the Catholic clergy and hierarchy must take our place uncompromisingly on the side of the poor. Most of our people are poor and in ordinary circumstances. Most of our priests and bishops are from the poor. We must be the champions of the ordinary people of the world, whether they are Catholic or not. We must realistically interest ourselves in the laboring people, using whatever prestige and authority we possess to defend them against the ready onslaughts of the rich and mighty. And, if we are accused of advocating changes which favor the ordinary man, then we freely acknowledge our guilt. The balance has been too long the other way.

We cannot dismiss the world as decadent and dissolute. If we do, the world will dismiss us as irrelevant and superficial. We must know modern man and enter intimately into his problems. Men are not influenced by anything that does not enter into the very marrow of their being. Michael de la Bedoyere is especially pertinent here: "Does the church, do the Christians, do the clergy themselves make contact with the world at the level of the world's suffering; or do they stand above, hanging on to the last ridges of a world that is gone, away from the dirt and smell and blood, beckoning to those below and expecting them to rise by spiritual enchantment?"

We cannot continue to leave the reconstruction of the world to the religiously indifferent; we are bound to be in the forefront for full social justice for all. We dare not let the magnificent social doctrine of the

church lie fallow, unused, perhaps, even unread, while others, more energetic and more prepared, apply truncated or even vicious social remedies. It is only through the full social teaching of the church, and the action of her priests and bishops, that the church's social doctrine can leaven the world. Inspired by the church's unending fight for the dignity and liberty of man, we can build a world a man can live in; for, the church is the unerring teacher, setting her mind and her will to leading men, God's children, out of the valleys of oppression and depression, out of the abyss of hate and rancor, onto the heights of light and understanding, into the realms of security and freedom and justice.

THE CONTINUED SHORTAGE OF FARM MACHINERY

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, time and time again I have brought to the attention of the Senate the continued lack of farm machinery for the farmers of the Northwest. About 3 months ago the War Production Board issued this statement:

The Senators were assured, however, that as soon as the war in Europe takes a sufficiently favorable turn Krug expects to reallocate steel to take care of the farm-machinery situation.

Mr. President, although that promise was made, nothing has been done.

I have in my hand an article which appeared in the Cando Record-Herald of a few weeks ago entitled "Less Farm Machinery for Farmers During 1945."

Of the scores of letters I have received on this subject, I will read two or three. Here is one which is typical. It is from Hamilton, N. Dak., and is dated June 19, 1945, and reads as follows:

DEAR SENATOR: What does it take to get a little consideration in getting farm machinery? My neighbor, Mr. William Bill, has three quarters of land. He bought a third- or fourth-hand combine last fall and it just naturally was worn out. He tried to get one of the few International self-propelled ones that came to this country, but he missed out for some reason or other. One of them was sold to a man who immediately sent it down south to combine down there, and we need new ones here so badly. And that is not all. Mr. Bill has six sons in the service—

I want every serviceman in the room to listen to this:

Mr. Bill has six sons in the service—that is what I said—six. But that is not right. It isn't six—it is five, on account one of his boys was killed in Belgium last winter while doing his part to turn Rundstedt back in the Battle of the Bulge. Billy is carrying on with his one remaining boy.

Now, Senator, don't you think that Mr. Bill is entitled to a combine and swather, if anyone is?

Mr. President, I shall not read the remainder of the letter because it asks me to telephone Fowler McCormick and to beg Fowler McCormick, of Chicago, to be so good as to give this man a combine because of the fact that he has five boys in the service and has lost one.

Mr. President, I have before me several typical letters. Here is one from Langdon, N. Dak., from a man named Thomas Devaney. He writes as follows:

DEAR BILL: I am writing this letter for Emil Lorenz, a farmer near Langdon, N. Dak. His farm is not far from here and consists of

440 acres of land. He is farming with an old tractor of the vintage of 1928 and is worn out. He has been trying for 2 years to get another, but without success. Last year he applied to the board for a permit and got one, but no tractor. The harvest will be coming on in a few weeks and he feels that his old tractor is not equal to the work and may quit entirely.

Here is one from Pekin, N. Dak. The writer says:

What is the matter that North Dakota should be so discriminated against? How can we raise cattle and crops without machinery?

He further states:

I shall be very pleased if you will see to it that I get a cultivator and I need it quickly. I certainly think you Senators should put your foot down on this lend-lease business and see that our own people are looked after first—we do the work and pay the taxes and buy bonds—we should come first and anything that is left over can go to the Allies. You know this nearly burns me up that here in a land of plenty—and at a time when they are laying off so many workers in the defense plants—that we can't get the necessities to produce the foods that is so badly needed all over the world.

Here is one from Nekoma, N. Dak.:

HON. WILLIAM LANGER,
United States Senator from North Dakota,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LANGER: I have been trying for some months now to get a 12-foot combine and swather. None of the dealers around here seem to be able to get me one. Dealers I have contacted are: Smith Bros., Osnabrock, N. Dak., Minneapolis Moline; Ernie Christie, Langdon, N. Dak.; Case; William Porter, Langdon, N. Dak.; John Deere.

I would appreciate anything you can do to help me in obtaining a combine and swather for this year's harvest. I prefer a Minneapolis Moline but would accept a Case or John Deere.

I have letters showing that farmers have tried for as long as 3 years to get a combine or a tractor. Where is this machinery going? Last week I read into the RECORD reports from the town of Portal. This machinery is going right by the North Dakota farmers into Canada. Here is one report, dated June 13:

PORTAL, N. DAK., June 13, 1945.

DEAR SENATOR: There were exported at Portal, on flatcars, on June 11, 12 McCormick-Deering tractors on rubber. On June 12 there were no flatcars, but I was informed that there were several boxcars of machinery. I was not informed as to the amount and kinds.

NORMAN G. JENSEN.

Here is another report, dated June 16, 1945:

PORTAL, N. DAK., June 16, 1945.

DEAR SENATOR: On June 15 there were exported at Portal 4 flatcars of tractors (8 Allis-Chalmers tractors on rubber, 18 McCormick-Deering tractors on rubber). I was reliably informed that there have been several carloads of machinery per day in boxcars.

NORMAN G. JENSEN.

Two days later, on June 18, I have the following report:

PORTAL, N. DAK., June 18, 1945.

DEAR SENATOR: There were exported at Portal today on flatcars: 12 Cockshutt tractors on rubber, 6 McCormick-Deering tractors on rubber, 2 large John Deere combines on rubber, 4 No. 123 self-propelled McCormick-

Deering combines on rubber. My reliable source of information says there was no other machinery today and that it was quite unusual to have boxcars without machinery.

Sincerely,

NORMAN G. JENSEN.

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LANGER. I yield.

Mr. CAPPER. I am sure the Senator from North Dakota is fully justified in making this appeal on behalf of the farmers of his State. I receive the same kind of letters almost daily from my State, and I believe that the same condition exists throughout the Farm Belt. Something should be done to relieve the situation.

Mr. LANGER. I am very glad indeed to have the statement of the distinguished senior Senator from Kansas. I am sorry to learn that the same condition exists in Kansas that we have in North Dakota.

These reports are all within a week. They are dated June 13, June 16, June 18, June 20, and June 22. The following report is dated June 20, 1945:

PORTAL, N. DAK., June 20, 1945.

DEAR SENATOR: There were exported at Portal last night 25 Allis-Chalmers tractors on rubber; 4 McCormick Deering No. 62 combines on rubber.

These were on flatcars; remember, I can't see what's in boxcars.

NORMAN G. JENSEN.

Two days later, June 22, 5 days ago, at the very time when hundreds of farmers in my State were in need of machinery, and some of them had been trying for years to get a tractor, a combine, or a swather, I received the following report:

PORTAL, N. DAK., June 22, 1945.

DEAR SENATOR: Four more McCormick-Deering self-propelled combines have been exported to Canada on flatcars—I can't see what's in boxcars. Rumors here say lots of small machinery and tractors.

NORMAN G. JENSEN.

Mr. President, someone may say, "Why do not those farmers take the law in their own hands and grab the machinery?" They tried that over in Ohio a few months ago and this is what happened to them. I read from the Georgia Farmers' Market Bulletin of June 13, 1945:

Last fall Jim Mannix, of Greenville, Ohio, who is a member of the Farmers Guild, needed a corn picker. At that time, millions of dollars worth of farm machinery, manufactured in this country, was being shipped to Soviet Russia, England, and all over the world. Jim Mannix located a corn picker that was for sale. He paid the dealer's price in cash and with the help of some neighbors took the corn picker. He and seven of his neighbors were arrested for violating OPA regulations. They were put under bonds in the total amount of \$160,000. Ultimately, Jim Mannix had to return the corn picker which he needed desperately.

That, Mr. President, is the situation in the Farm Belt. All I can say is that the farmer cannot do it himself without being arrested and placed under a \$160,000 bond for taking a corn picker; but I suggest that the Governors of the Northwestern States might very well use the State militia for the purpose.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD certain

letters which I have received on this subject.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EDGELEY, N. DAK., June 19, 1945.

DEAR MR. LANGER: You have helped us in the past, and I am looking forward to help us again. Which I'm almost sure.

I have 240 acres of grain to cut this year. And I'm unable to get a grain binder. I bought a second-hand one last year, paid \$65, the owner told me it is in good condition. I went out to try to cut my grain. One thing break after the other. Was unable to get all the parts. Had to hire a man with the binder. Paid \$1 an acre.

I'd very much like to have a new binder. If it's a power binder, I need a power take-off for a 10-20 McCormick-Deering tractor, which we are unable to get here.

I can't pay all in cash, but am willing to pay some down and the rest after threshing. Or whichever it will be.

Very truly yours,

WALTER TOBOLSKI.

EDGELEY, N. DAK.

VENTURIA, N. DAK., June 18, 1945.

Senator WILLIAM LANGER,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. LANGER: Just a friendly letter to obtain if possible some information for myself and many others.

I was discharged from the armed forces June 6, 1944. While I was farming before I left for the service in October 1941, I went back to it. I find it difficult to start which I did expect. I managed to get a tractor, but an old worn out one. There were quite a number of new ones all over the State, but when the OPA quit rationing them last fall only the fellows that were financially well fixed, and a lot of them had tractors, got them and got rid of the old ones. That's the same story on all implements now.

What really made me think of writing to you now is the fact I did manage to put out a crop and the stand is heavy, but I have no machine of no kind to harvest it. Not even a mower. Isn't there a way possible for us to figure on getting machines for veterans, and especially for harvesting this summer?

There were some new combines shipped in this spring and still are coming. But the old saying, they were sold before they ever got here. What are we going to do about this?

Sincerely yours,

GORDON J. HOFFMAN.

ROUTE 1, VENTURIA, N. DAK.

STRASBURG, N. DAK., June 18, 1945.

Hon. WILLIAM LANGER,

United States Senator,

Capitol Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. LANGER: A great plight exists in Emmons County, N. Dak., for tractors and harvesting machinery for the coming crop.

Our quota is low, due to the fact that in 1941 our farmers were not in a position to buy any new machinery.

Now they are handicapped by a low-quota basis, lack of the newer equipment, and labor shortage.

Most of our farmers are operating machines 15 years old, worn out, and not adapted to the conditions that now are at hand.

One dealer in South Dakota alone has delivered 50 tractors so far this year. Some of this dealer's tractors were sold in our territory. We have sold two tractors so far. Do you call this fair distribution?

We feel sure that with the aid of our Senator, and the help and cooperation of the Minneapolis Moline Power Implement Co., of Minneapolis, Minn., we will be able to help at least some of our farmers to get their crops cut in time.

We wish to submit some of the farmers' names who have had their orders with us for new machinery since last October:

Joe Neise, tractor; Al Baumgartner, tractor; Kasper J. Feist, tractor; Max Heiderich, tractor; Zashauss Backmier, tractor; Henry Plagerman, tractor; Andy Rodenberg, tractor; Sam Mitzel, tractor; Math W. Lipp, tractor; John B. Wagner, tractor; John W. Kramer, tractor; Seb. A. Selzer, tractor; Steve Zacher, tractor; Joe Zahn, tractor; Adam J. Fischer, tractor; J. J. Baumgartner and son, tractor; Frank C. Kraft, tractor; Herman L. Dykeman, tractor; Peter Matern, tractor; Clemens Rorrich, tractor; Plus Sterifel, tractor; Peter S. Rorrich, tractor; Henry Van Soest, tractor; Jake Hulm, tractor; Wendlin Schumaker, tractor; Melchor Backmier, tractor; A. J. Kunz, tractor drill; Anton Krumm, tractor drill; Jacob J. Feist, tractor drill; Alfred Van Der Worste, tractor drill; Frank Volk, tractor drill; Jake Hulm, horse drill; Ludwig Schwab, horse drill; Ray Schriener, horse drill; Frank Kuss, horse drill; Theodore J. Mattern, 7-foot power mower; John L. Van Beek, 7-foot power mower; Edward Van Der Worste, 7-foot power mower; John W. Kramer, M. M. combine; Joe Goldade, M. M. combine; Al Baumgartner, M. M. combine; Damian Baumgartner, M. M. combine; Bert Borr, M. M. combine; Egnatz Reinbold, M. M. combine; A. A. Krumm, M. M. combine; A. A. Hollaar, M. M. combine; Harry Heidrich, M. M. combine; Peter Matern, M. M. combine; Herman Heisingh, M. M. combine; Ed. G. Van Der Worste, M. M. combine; John Stom, M. M. combine; Harry De Boer, M. M. combine; Gerrit A. Haak, M. M. combine; Felix Silvernagle, M. M. combine; J. J. Baumgartner, Jr., M. M. combine.

This is a true statement as of the records on hand.

Whatever will be done to relieve this bottleneck will be in interest of the North Dakota farmer and will greatly help the War Food Administration.

May we hear your comment?

Yours respectfully,

VAL KELLER, Jr.,

Keller Hardware, Strasburg, N. Dak.

BOTTINEAU, N. DAK., June 18, 1945.

Hon. WILLIAM LANGER,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: My brother-in-law, Adelard Bibeau, and I have each been trying to buy a combine. Would you try to help us buy them? Some combines have been bought here and some have gone into Canada, but it has been impossible for either of us to buy one. We are both very much in need of one. Our old combines are obsolete. We cannot buy repairs for them. It will be impossible to harvest our crops with them this year.

Any help you could give us would be appreciated very much.

Sincerely yours,

HERMAN CARBONNEAU.

FINGAL, N. DAK., June 17, 1945.

Mr. WILLIAM LANGER,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR WILLIAM: We are having nice weather, but it is getting dry. The crop looks good but is short, and the corn is poor. We are feeling fine except Mother, and hope these few lines find you the same Mr. William Langer. I got a combine, but I can't get a swather, so I am writing to you if there is any chance to get one. If you could help me out with one, a McCormick or Moline or any other kind of swather, a 12-foot swather. I am farming 520 acres. Please let me know.

Sincerely,

JULIUS LANGER.

TUNBRIDGE, N. DAK., March 30, 1945.

DEAR SENATOR: Well, I know that you are busy, so I will make my letter as short and

brief as possible. Well, I am a farmer who is very much in need of a tractor but am not able to get one. Since our Government has taken off the priority, the dealers favor their good friends, and again I can't figure out why in some places there are many tractors stored and not shipped out where they are needed very bad. I and my brother are farming 500 acres and all we have is a 1927 18-36 Hart-Parr tractor, which is almost beyond repair. So, if we don't get a new tractor, our Government need not expect 100-percent production. I have been trying to get a new tractor for the past 5 months.

Yours truly,

SIMON VOELLER.

GLENFIELD, N. DAK., March 5, 1945.

Senator LANGER,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I spoke to you in New Rockford, N. Dak., last summer and we corresponded back and forth in regard to my securing a grain binder for the 1944 crop. I was unable to secure one, and wasn't able properly to care for my crop last fall. I farm 640 acres and have only one old horse grain binder and therefore some of the grain shells before I can get to it. I have had my order in for a new binder with all the implement dealers in the near vicinity but there are so many orders ahead of mine that I can see no possible chance of my getting one. I would like to know if there is any chance of my securing one for the 1945 crop before I start seeding because if there isn't there is no need of my planting that much. Please let me know at once if you can give me any help or advice.

Yours truly,

FRANK PAEZKOWSKI.

LARIMORE, N. DAK., March 16, 1945.

HON. WILLIAM LANGER,

United States Senator,

Washington, D. C.

Farm equipment situation very critical especially tillage and seeding machinery for spring. We would appreciate any effort toward relief of the situation. If required crop acreages requirements by Department of Agriculture are to be met. This will mean additional equipment in June and July.

The C. E. WALSTER Co.

WELCOME TO SENATORS CONNALLY AND VANDENBERG

At 12 o'clock and 40 minutes, p. m., Mr. CONNALLY and Mr. VANDENBERG entered the Chamber and were greeted by applause, Senators rising.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Senate will take a brief recess.

At the expiration of the recess, the Senate reassembled, and Mr. HOEY resumed the chair.

SUSPENSION OF STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS IN CERTAIN CASES

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate take up a bill to amend an act suspending until June 30, 1945, the running of the statute of limitations applicable to violations of the antitrust laws, so as to continue such suspension until June 30, 1946.

Mr. President, this bill should be passed today in order that it may go to the House of Representatives and be passed there, because otherwise certain antitrust cases concerning which the President has asked for a suspension of the statute of limitations because the war is going on would be barred, and it would be difficult, in his opinion, to defend the cases or prepare to defend them. He

has asked the Department of Justice to hold up certain proceedings in the cases.

If we do not pass the bill now it will mean that these antitrust cases will be forever barred by the statute of limitations, and I am informed and believe that there are certain cases in which the statute would run unless Congress passed the bill.

For this reason, Mr. President, I ask that the bill be now considered.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, I recall that the Senator from Michigan spoke to me about this matter earlier in the day and I think it is true also that the matter has been cleared with the majority leader.

Mr. FERGUSON. I spoke to the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY], the majority leader, and I should like to have the bill considered at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title for the information of the Senate.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S. 937) to amend the act suspending until June 30, 1945, the running of the statute of limitations applicable to violations of the antitrust laws, so as to continue such suspension until June 30, 1946.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the bill was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the first section of the act entitled "An act to suspend until June 30, 1945, the running of the statute of limitations applicable to violations of the antitrust laws," approved October 10, 1942 (56 Stat. 781; U. S. C., Supp. III, title 15, note following sec. 16), is amended by striking out the date "June 30, 1945" where it appears in such section and inserting in lieu thereof the date "June 30, 1946."

MARITIME COMMISSION CONTRACTS

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, several times during the last 3 years I have called the attention of the Senate to certain questionable transactions of the United States Maritime Commission. I have called attention to the many reports of alleged irregularities by the Commission which have been brought to the Congress by the office of the Comptroller General. I have referred to the exorbitant prices paid by the Maritime Commission for obsolete ships, in defiance of the formula prescribed by the Congress for the acquisition of such ships.

I have called attention to the excessive insurance paid on ships lost at sea, in some cases amounting to over 50 times the legal valuation of the ship, as fixed by the Commission itself.

I have frequently referred to the rates paid on the Red Sea Charter contracts, whereby the owners of 81 vessels valued at \$8,265,000 were able to make profits of \$26,874,176.70 on a total of 90 voyages.

A year ago I called attention to the fact that out of over 20,000 contracts placed by the Maritime Commission less than 30 contained the recapture-of-excess-profits provision as required by law, and I have called attention to other transactions in which the United States Maritime Commission was involved, and

which most obviously were not in the public interest.

About 2 months ago it was reported to me that several contracts for ship construction had been made with the Pennsylvania Shipyards, Inc., located at Beaumont, Tex., and that an addendum to these contracts contained provisions which, to my mind, clearly were not compatible with the public interest. I learn that the Pennsylvania Shipyards, Inc., is a wholly owned subsidiary of the American Republics Corporation, a holding company originally organized under the laws of the State of Delaware. This holding company at the end of 1944 controlled five wholly owned subsidiary companies, namely, the American Petroleum Co., organized under the laws of Texas; Pennsylvania Shipyards, Inc., organized under the laws of Delaware; Petroleum Coal & Iron Co., organized under the laws of Alabama; the Petroleum Iron Works Co., organized under the laws of Pennsylvania; and Republic Production Co., organized under the laws of Texas. Most of the income of the holding company is apparently derived from the Pennsylvania Shipyards, Inc.

I shall be glad to furnish the names of the officers of the company if anyone is interested. The directorate largely interlocks with that of the Fidelity Trust Co. of Houston. I see no good purpose to be served by stating the names here. In fact, I have had no information that the company itself has violated any law.

However, as the reports which I received were disturbing in character, I requested the Comptroller General to make an examination of contracts DAMCc-51, MCo-2199, MCo-8215, and MCo-16309 for the purpose of ascertaining whether there is contained therein a provision denying to the Maritime Commission access to the contractor's books and records.

Under date of June 6, 1945, Mr. Lindsay C. Warren, Comptroller General of the United States, advised me that in response to my inquiry an examination had been made and—

It has been found that an agreement dated December 31, 1944, was executed by and between the Commission and the contractor, which agreement was in the form of an amendment to each of the four contracts listed above, and that article III of the said agreement provides:

"The contractor shall have no obligation to make any statements or returns of costs to the Commission or to make available to the Commission any of its books, records, or accounts pertaining to the performance of work under the vessel contracts."

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. AIKEN. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. Has the Senator from Vermont made inquiry as to why such a provision would be placed in the contracts?

Mr. AIKEN. I intend to develop that point.

Mr. FERGUSON. The Senator has made inquiry in that connection, has he?

Mr. AIKEN. Yes; I have. With the consent of the Senate, I will insert in the RECORD documents which I think will clearly show why these provisions relieving the contractors from furnishing any

cost figures are inserted in the contracts in the form of amendments.

Mr. FERGUSON. I am anxious to have that information placed in the RECORD.

Mr. AIKEN. I think the committee of which the Senator is a member will be very much interested in having that information.

Mr. President, I have secured a copy of the agreement dated December 31, 1944, which was signed by Emory S. Land for the United States Maritime Commission and by L. B. Coppinger, president, for the Pennsylvania Shipyards, Inc. I ask unanimous consent to have this agreement printed in the RECORD at the end of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit A.)

Mr. AIKEN. I further wish to call the attention of the Senate to article II of this agreement, which reads in part as follows:

ART. II. The contractor shall have no further or other obligations under the vessel contracts or on account of the performance of work thereunder, including any obligation to repair, remedy, replace, or make good any defects, break-down, or deterioration occurring in any vessel delivered under the vessel contracts.

In other words, the contractor can deliver ships which will not float or which are not fully equipped or the contractor may maintain other defects or shortages, but he will be relieved of the responsibility to make good.

Mr. FERGUSON. I should like to ask the Senator whether he will state why that provision was placed in the contract.

Mr. AIKEN. I would have no answer to that question. I think the Maritime Commission should be asked to explain the matter.

Mr. FERGUSON. The Senator has not made inquiry of the Maritime Commission as to why it inserted such a provision in the contract; has he?

Mr. AIKEN. No. My communications have been wholly with the Office of the Comptroller General. I stopped communicating with the Maritime Commission some time ago.

Mr. FERGUSON. Then, as I understand, the Maritime Commission does not give a reason for putting in the contracts the provision relieving the company from having an audit and examination made of its books, but the statement in that connection is one made by the Comptroller General; is that correct?

Mr. AIKEN. Let me say to the Senator that if he will read the document which I shall have printed in the RECORD he will find that the Maritime Commission has not given the Comptroller General's Office a good and sufficient reason or, at least, one which is satisfactory to that agency.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. AIKEN. I yield.

Mr. LANGER. How long has this been going on?

Mr. AIKEN. The amendments to the four contracts were made on December 31 of last year. As I continue with my

statement, which will take only a few minutes longer, I think I shall be able to show why it was done. The four contracts covered by the agreement total \$111,213,553.

Mr. President, later on I shall ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a copy of a letter from Lindsay C. Warren to Admiral Land, dated June 7, 1945. This letter refers to another contract, MCC-34973, with the Pennsylvania Shipyards, Inc., and dated "as of January 2, 1945." The letter indicates that the sum of \$802,000 deducted from the price of each ship under this contract as the value of the material, machinery, and equipment furnished by the Commission to the contractor is a purely arbitrary figure.

It will appear from a document which I shall submit for the RECORD that the contract probably was signed much later than that date, but was dated back to January 2, 1945, and was signed "as of January 2, 1945."

Mr. President, I shall now quote briefly from Mr. Warren's letter to Admiral Land:

Representatives of this Office have advised that they have been unable to locate any factual data to support the said sum of \$802,000 or any records relating to the maintenance of inventories or the control thereof in the various shipyards.

Apparently the Maritime Commission does not keep records of inventories or have any accurate knowledge of the amount and value of the supplies maintained at shipyards which hold Commission contracts. It will further be observed from this letter that a net overpayment of \$6,172,618 on a \$35,900,000 contract is indicated.

The only conclusion one can draw is that a deliberate and utter disregard of the use of public funds exists in the Maritime Commission.

As I have said, Mr. President, I am placing these matters before this body today because I feel that the time is drawing near when the public and the Congress will be interested in correcting such conditions as have existed in the United States Maritime Commission for years, but which have grown steadily worse since the beginning of the war.

I believe that an impartial and thorough investigation would show that the wastefulness and illegal expenditures of the Maritime Commission have run, not into millions of dollars, but possibly into billions of dollars.

The matters which I have tried to bring to the attention of the Senate during the last 4 years actually only scratch the surface of the unsavory conditions which exist in the Maritime Commission. So far the Congress has neglected to take appropriate action. I am encouraged to believe, however, that even if the legislative branch of our Government does nothing about this matter, the executive branch will.

I am sure the President of the United States is quite familiar with the bad conditions existing within the Maritime Commission; and I believe that if the Congress does nothing, President Truman will take it upon himself to deal

properly with those who have failed in the performance of their duties.

Mr. President, I now ask unanimous consent to have certain documents printed in the RECORD. The first is a letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, Lindsay C. Warren, to me, dated June 6.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMPTROLLER GENERAL
OF THE UNITED STATES.

Washington, D. C., June 6, 1945.

HON. GEORGE D. AIKEN,

United States Senate.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Pursuant to your informal inquiry I have had examined the following contracts with Pennsylvania Shipyards, Inc., DA-MCC-51, MCC-2199, MCC-8215, and MCC-16309, for the purpose of ascertaining whether there is contained therein a provision denying to the Maritime Commission access to the contractor's books and records. It has been found that an agreement dated December 31, 1944, was executed by and between the Commission and the contractor, which agreement was in the form of an amendment to each of the four contracts listed above, and that article III of the said agreement provides:

"The contractor shall have no obligation to make any statements or returns of costs to the Commission or to make available to the Commission any of its books, records, or accounts pertaining to the performance of work under the vessel contracts."

In view of your interest in this matter I am enclosing herewith a copy of my letter of April 18, 1945 (B-37430) addressed to the Chairman, United States Maritime Commission. It will be noted that this Office has taken the position in the said letter that the involved provision of the contract does not operate to limit or otherwise affect the furnishing of evidence deemed necessary to support reimbursements made under the superseded contracts.

I trust the foregoing will serve the purpose of your inquiry.

Sincerely yours,

LINDSAY C. WARREN.

Comptroller General of the United States.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, the next document is a copy of the contract with the Pennsylvania Shipyards, Inc., dated December 31, 1944, and signed by E. S. Land for the Maritime Commission, and L. B. Coppinger, for the Pennsylvania Shipyards, Inc.

The next document is a letter from the Comptroller General to Admiral Land, dated April 18, 1945.

The fourth and last document is a letter from Lindsay C. Warren, Comptroller General, to Admiral Land, Chairman of the United States Maritime Commission, dated June 7, 1945.

There being no objection, the documents were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXHIBIT A

This agreement, made and entered into as of the 31st day of December 1944, by and between the United States Maritime Commission (herein called the Commission) and Pennsylvania Shipyards, Inc., a corporation organized and existing under the laws of the State of Delaware (herein called the contractor);

Witnesseth:

1. Whereas under dates of April 29, 1941, February 6, 1942, August 13, 1942, and April 20, 1943, respectively, the Commission and the contractor entered into certain contracts,

designated DA-MCc-51, MCo-2199, MCo-8215, MCo-16309, respectively (herein called the vessel contracts), for the construction of certain cargo vessels;

2. Whereas under the terms of each of the vessel contracts the Commission agreed to pay the contractor the cost of performance of the work thereunder and a fee calculated and adjusted in the manner prescribed therein;

3. Whereas the Commission has determined the cost of the performance of the contract work and has calculated the fee payable to the contractor under the terms of the vessel contracts;

4. Whereas the Commission has requested the contractor to reduce the amount of fee calculated as aforesaid;

5. Whereas the contractor is willing to accept compensation for the performance of the contract work in an amount less than that provided for in the vessel contracts upon the understanding that a fixed lump-sum amount as compensation for such performance shall be paid to it as hereinafter provided;

6. Whereas the contractor will enter into an agreement with the United States of America, represented by the Chairman of the Commission, providing for the repayment to or retention by the Commission of certain profits derived from the performance of the vessel contracts found to be excessive as a result of renegotiation pursuant to the provisions of section 403 of the Sixth Supplemental Defense Appropriation Act, 1942, as amended;

Now, therefore, the parties hereto agree as follows:

ARTICLE I. As full consideration for the performance of all the contractor's obligations under the vessel contracts the Commission will pay the contractor the sum of \$111,213,553 less all payments heretofore made by the Commission to the contractor under the terms of the vessel contracts.

ART. II. The contractor shall have no further or other obligations under the vessel contracts or on account of the performance of work thereunder, including any obligation to repair, remedy, replace, or make good any defects, break-down or deterioration occurring in any vessel delivered under the vessel contracts. Nothing herein contained, however, shall have the effect of divesting the Commission of title to any vessel or any material, supplies and equipment title to which is vested in the Commission or is to be vested in the Commission pursuant to the provisions of the vessel contracts, and, in the case of the vessels constructed under the vessel contracts designated MCo-8215 and MCo-16309, the contractor will, if so requested by the Commission, assign to the Commission any rights it may have against any manufacturer or seller of material and equipment used in the performance of work under such vessel contracts on account of defects, deteriorations and break-downs in such material and equipment which have not been remedied by or at the expense of the contractor.

ART. III. The contractor shall have no obligation to make any statements or returns of costs to the Commission or to make available to the Commission any of its books, records, or accounts pertaining to the performance of work under the vessel contracts.

ART. IV. The vessel contracts are hereby amended as hereinbefore provided, and, except as hereinbefore otherwise provided, all of the terms and conditions of the vessel contracts shall remain in full force and effect, it being expressly understood and agreed that the payments to be made hereunder are to be subject to renegotiation pursuant to the provisions of section 403 of the Sixth Supplemental Defense Appropriation Act, 1942, as amended.

In witness whereof, the parties hereto have executed this agreement as of the day and year first above written.

UNITED STATES MARITIME COMMISSION,
E. S. LAND, *Chairman*.

Attest:

R. L. McDONALD,
Assistant Secretary.
PENNSYLVANIA SHIPYARDS, INC.,
L. B. COPPINGER, *President*.

Attest:

J. E. BATTARBEE,
Secretary.

Approved as to form:

WADE H. SKINNER,
General Counsel, United States Maritime Commission.

COMPTROLLER GENERAL OF THE
UNITED STATES,
Washington, April 18, 1945.

CHAIRMAN, UNITED STATES MARITIME COMMISSION.

MY DEAR ADMIRAL LAND: Reference is made to my letters of November 13, 1943, January 20, 1944, December 14, 1944, and your reply to the latter dated December 28, 1944 as follows:

"Receipt is acknowledged of your letter dated December 14, 1944, requesting that

you be furnished with copies of final audit reports of Pennsylvania Shipyards, Inc., Beaumont, Tex., covering contracts Nos. DA-MCc-51, MCo-2199, and MCo-8215.

"The Shipbuilder's Final Report of Cost, Form 9025, covering these contracts, has not been received by the Commission. However, there are enclosed herewith copies of Shipbuilder's Preliminary Final Report of Cost dated June 5, 1944, relating to contracts Nos. DA-MCc-51 and MCo-2199. The final report on each of these contracts, when received, will be forwarded to your office."

The reports of cost referred to in and received with the above-quoted letter apparently were prepared and submitted by the contractor, whereas my request contemplated that a copy of the audit report prepared by representatives of the Commission, pursuant to articles 15 and 16 of the contracts would be furnished.

An examination of the records of the United States Maritime Commission, relating to contracts between the Commission and the Pennsylvania Shipyards, Inc., reveals that under date of December 31, 1944, four contracts which had been completed were amended so as to provide for a lump-sum settlement thereunder in the amount of \$111,213,553. The completed contracts are as follows:

Contract No.	Date	Ships	Base contract price	Vouchers paid to Feb. 28, 1945
DA-MCc-51.....	Apr. 29, 1941	10	\$24,000,000	\$26,741,691
DA-MCc-2199.....	Feb. 6, 1942	10	24,000,000	26,449,385
DA-MCc-8215.....	Aug. 13, 1942	20	48,000,000	47,166,912
DA-MCc-16309.....	Apr. 20, 1943	4	9,545,200	9,209,087

Articles 15 and 16 of the completed contracts provide:

"ART. 15. Payment of contract price: (a) Partial payments on account of the contract price shall be made during the progress of the work hereunder to the contractor by the Commission at semimonthly or such other intervals as the parties may mutually agree upon. Such partial payments shall be based upon the value of the portion of the work done and materials on hand which is represented by the cost thereof (inclusive of overhead), and the contractor shall accompany each voucher for such partial payment with a statement in form satisfactory to the Commission setting forth such cost. Any payment made on the basis of such voucher shall be subject to adjustment upon final audit by the Commission. The Commission may, upon such terms and conditions as it may prescribe, include, as part of the value of work and materials, work performed by any subcontractor or materials, machinery, or equipment to be installed in the vessels, although not yet delivered, if title to such materials, machinery, or equipment shall have vested in the Commission.

"(b) No payments shall be made except on bills, vouchers, or invoices in such number and form and executed and attested in such manner and supported by such evidence as shall be prescribed by the Commission. All warrants for payments hereunder shall be made payable to the contractor or order.

"(c) Upon launching of each vessel, there shall be paid to the contractor, in addition to the payments provided for in paragraph (a) hereof, the sum of \$32,727, and upon delivery thereof the sum of \$32,727.

"(d) In the event that the payments made under paragraphs (a) and (c) hereof shall, upon completion and delivery of all the vessels and a final audit under this contract, be found to be less than the contract price stated in article 4 and adjusted under the provisions of article 5 and paragraph (a) of article 6, the Commission shall pay to the

contractor an amount equal to (1) 50 percent of the sum by which the contract price, adjusted as aforesaid, exceeds the amount paid under the provisions of paragraphs (a) and (c), less (ii) any liquidated damages payable under article 9 hereof, plus (iii) any bonuses payable under said article 9: *Provided*, That in no event shall the total amount payable under the provision of this paragraph (including bonuses payable under the provisions of article 9 hereof) exceed the sum of \$1,527,272.

"(e) The payments specified in the preceding paragraphs of this article shall constitute full consideration to the contractor for all the work to be performed under the provisions of this contract.

"ART. 16. Determination of cost: (a) For the purposes of making payments under article 15 hereof the term 'cost' as therein used shall include all amounts which the Commission determines are chargeable directly to the construction, outfitting, and equipping of the vessels or to constitute items of overhead expense which are not directly chargeable thereto but are incident and necessary for the work of constructing, outfitting, and equipping the vessels. Such cost shall be determined by the Commission in accordance with the applicable provisions of its 'Regulations Prescribing the Method for Determining Profit, adopted May 4, 1939,' with such modifications as may be necessary due to the fact that the Commission will own some or all of the plant and equipment used by the contractor in the performance of the work called for by this contract.

"(b) In determining cost for the purpose of article 15 hereof the Commission will exclude therefrom (1) any expense, including (without limitation) traveling expense, deemed by the Commission to be excessive, (2) depreciation on the facilities and other property owned by the Commission, (3) the cost of remedying work and replacing materials which are defective because of the failure of the contractor to use reasonable diligence and the cost of performing any

work required under the provisions of article 14, hereof, (4) the exclusions required under paragraph 7.23 of said 'Regulations Prescribing the Method of Determining Profit, Adopted May 4, 1939,' and (5) costs incurred by the contractor in contravention of the provisions of this contract including those of article 17.

"(c) All costs shall be scrutinized by the Commission to determine that they are fair, just, and not in excess of the market price for the materials and services for which they are incurred.

"(d) Statement returns relative to expenditures shall be made as and when directed by the Commission, and all books, files, and other records in respect thereto shall at all times be open for inspection by representatives of the Commission."

Article III of the addenda to the four contracts dated December 31, 1944, provides:

"ART. III. The contractor shall have no obligation to make any statements or returns of costs to the Commission or to make available to the Commission any of its books, records, or accounts pertaining to the performance of work under the vessel contracts."

With reference to the conversation of the cost type of contracts into fixed-price contracts, attention is invited to my letter dated June 21, 1943 (B-34484), to the Secretary of the Navy, which letter, in part, is as follows:

"It appears further that the primary reason for the conversion of the cost type of contracts into fixed-price contracts, at the time the contract work is completed, or is substantially completed, is to relieve the contractor from furnishing evidence establishing that the amount which it represents to be its costs, actually was expended by it and otherwise is proper for reimbursement by the Government. In this connection, paragraph 6 of the memorandum of March 20, supra, provides expressly that the conversion of the cost type of contracts to fixed-price contracts, prior to final payment, will permit a final settlement on the basis of the total fixed amount and will assure both the disbursing officer and the contractor that all payments are within the terms of the contract and are not subject to reexamination, except to the extent of possible action by the Price Adjustment Board. Hence, the effect of converting cost type of contracts into fixed-price contracts before final payment might possibly be construed as nullifying, or rendering ineffective, any audit action this office might take to ascertain that the amounts paid to the contractor by the Navy Department as reimbursement of its actual costs were proper.

"It is recognized that, subject to certain statutory restrictions and limitations, the contract terms with respect to the basis on which payments are to be made are for determination by the administrative office, and, also, that, under the First War Powers Act, 1941, Public Law 354, 77th Congress, and Executive Order 9001, Dec. 27, 1941, the Navy Department is authorized to amend or modify the payment provisions of existing contracts. However, as you undoubtedly realize, there is nothing in the terms of the First War Powers Act, 1941, or in Executive Order 9001, which may be said to affect, in any way, the statutory duty of this office to audit the accounts of disbursing officers, including its right to require such evidence as may be deemed necessary in support of any payments made from appropriated moneys (34 Op. Atty. Gen. 446). Also, as you no doubt are aware, under a contract which provides for reimbursing a contractor its actual costs plus a fixed amount as a fee or profit, the audit function of this office is to ascertain that the amount paid to the contractor as

its costs actually was expended by it in the performance of the work covered by the contract and that, under the terms of said contract, the Government is obligated to reimburse the contractor for such costs; and, in order to enable this office to perform that function, it is necessary that there be furnished by the contractor certain specific evidence from which a determination of the correctness of the payments may be made. See 20 Comp. Gen. 341."

Accordingly, you are advised that any conversion of cost-type contracts into fixed-price contracts, upon completion of the work and before final payment has been made, will not be recognized by this office insofar as such conversions purport to limit the evidence which the contractor will be required to furnish in support of vouchers covering payment under such contracts, and that, "unless vouchers covering the reimbursements to contractors are supported by evidence such as will enable this office to make a satisfactory audit thereof, credit for any such pay-

ments will be withheld in the accounts of the accountable officers concerned."

Sincerely yours,

LINDSAY C. WARREN,
Comptroller General
of the United States.

COMPTROLLER GENERAL
OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, June 7, 1945.

CHAIRMAN, UNITED STATES MARITIME COMMISSION.

MY DEAR ADMIRAL LAND: It appears from the records of the United States Maritime Commission that contract No. MCC-34973, dated "as of January 2, 1945," was executed with Pennsylvania Shipyards, Inc., to provide for the construction of certain vessels originally covered by, and partially completed under, contracts Nos. MCC-26055, dated February 17, 1944, and DA-MCC-858, dated June 14, 1944. The schedule of work completed on the involved vessels is reported to be as follows:

Contract No.	Hull No.	Name	Keel laid	Launched
MCC-26055	2332	Athanasia	Aug. 14, 1944	Oct. 12, 1944
MCC-26055	2333	Hawser Bend	Sept. 4, 1944	Nov. 2, 1944
MCC-26055	2334	Carriek Bend	Sept. 25, 1944	Nov. 21, 1944
MCC-26055	2335	Rose Knot	Oct. 13, 1944	Dec. 6, 1944
MCC-26055	2336	Wall Knot	Oct. 16, 1944	Dec. 9, 1944
MCC-26055	2337	Spanish Bowline	Nov. 3, 1944	Dec. 29, 1944
MCC-26055	2338	Octavia ¹	Nov. 22, 1944	Jan. 18, 1945
MCC-26055	2339	Valentine ¹	Dec. 7, 1944	Feb. 3, 1945
MCC-26055	2340	Emerald Knot	Dec. 11, 1944	Feb. 9, 1945
MCC-26055	2341	Cable Splice	Dec. 13, 1944	Feb. 17, 1945
MCC-26055	2342	Blackwall Hitch	Dec. 30, 1944	Feb. 27, 1945
MCC-26055	2343	Ring Knot	Jan. 20, 1945	
MCC-26055	2344	Sheet Bend	Jan. 20, 1945	
MCC-26055	2345	Studding-Sail	Feb. 5, 1945	
MCC-26055	2346	Mariner's Splice	Feb. 10, 1945	
MCC-26055	2347	Anchor Bend	Feb. 19, 1945	
MCC-26055	2348	Buntline Hitch	Feb. 28, 1945	
MCC-26055	2349	Rolling Hitch		
DA-MCC-858	2620	Capstan Knot		
DA-MCC-858	2621	Hawser Splice		
DA-MCC-858	2622	Loop Knot		
DA-MCC-858	2623	Running Knot		

¹ Transferred to price-minus contract MCC-19778 for delivery to the Navy Department—conversion costs of approximately \$500,000 each to be paid by the Navy.

[Article 4 of the said contract MCC-34973 provides that the Commission will furnish to the contractor the principal items of material, machinery, and equipment to be incorporated in the construction of each vessel, and that the sum of \$802,000 per vessel shall be deducted from the amounts otherwise payable under the contract to cover the items thus furnished. "Representatives of this office have advised that they have been unable to locate any factual data to support the said sum of \$802,000, or any records relating to the maintenance of inventories or the control thereof in the various shipyards." A proper audit of the payments under the involved contract would appear to require supporting data in connection with this phase of the operations under the contract.]

Moreover, article 10 of the said contract MCC-34973 provides:

"ART. 10. Repayment of profits—Optional adjustment in contract price:

"(a) Subsequent to the completion of the work to be performed hereunder and the determination of profits derived from the performance thereof by the Contractor, the Contractor shall pay the Commission an amount equal to that by which such profits exceed the maximum profit as hereinafter defined. The amount of such profit shall be determined by the Commission pursuant to the provisions of its 'regulations prescribing the method of determining profit, adopted May 4, 1939,' including amendments and annotations to September 1, 1941, and for the purpose of such determination the contractor shall make such statements and returns to the Commission as it shall direct

and shall also make available to inspection and audit by representatives of the Commission all books, files, and other records of the contractor or any parent or subsidiary company of the contractor. The present methods of accounting employed by the contractor, including methods for allocating direct and indirect costs, have been found to be satisfactory by the Commission, and the contractor agrees that it will not make any changes in such methods without the approval of the Commission. In making its determination of profits derived by the Contractor from the performance of the work hereunder, the Commission will include in the contractor's cost all proper charges and expenses incurred in connection with the performance of such work, including, but not limited to, (1) recruitment expenses incurred in connection with such recruitment plans as may be approved by the Commission; (2) losses incurred by the contractor due to the necessity of disposing of inventory items acquired for the purpose of performing work under the terms of this contract and not used for such purposes, if the purchases made of such items by the contractor were not unreasonably in excess of the anticipated requirements in respect thereto, and if the Commission shall have been given an opportunity to purchase such items at a price equal to the cost thereof to the contractor and the Commission shall not have elected to purchase such items within 10 days of the receipt of a notice of the contractor's desire to sell the same to the Commission; and (3) the cost of completion or termination of this contract, including the

cost of preserving and protecting any property of the Commission located in the shipyard and legal, accounting, clerical, office, administrative, and other expenses incidental to final settlement of this contract. In addition to the exclusions specifically provided for in the aforementioned regulations, the Commission shall exclude from the contractor's cost, in determining profits as aforesaid, ceremonial launching expenses of whatsoever nature, charitable contributions, and Federal capital stock taxes in excess of amounts approved by the Commission.

"(b) Any amounts in excess of the then unpaid portion of the contract price which may be payable by the contractor to the Commission under the provisions of this article shall be paid by the contractor within 30 days of the date of the receipt of a demand therefor from the Commission.

"(c) The maximum profit for the purposes of this contract shall be the sum of \$665,000 unless and until the amount thereof shall be increased or decreased as hereinafter provided.

"(d) Prior to laying the keel of any one or more of the vessels to be constructed hereunder, the contractor may decrease or increase the unadjusted vessel price for each of the vessels the keels of which have not been laid in the sum of \$50,000, or any multiple thereof, provided that no increase may be made which will cause such unadjusted vessel price to exceed the sum of \$2,200,000. The contractor may thereafter from time to time in like manner and subject to like limitations decrease or increase the unadjusted vessel price for each of the vessels the keels of which have not then been laid. In the event of any such decrease or increase, the contract price shall be decreased or increased, as the case may be, by an amount equal to the decrease or increase in the unadjusted vessel price multiplied by the number of vessels, the keels of which have not then been laid. The contract price as so adjusted shall be subject to the further adjustments theretofore made or thereafter to be made, pursuant to the provisions of the preceding articles 8 and 9 hereof. Each notice of election to decrease or increase the unadjusted vessel price as aforesaid shall be given by the contractor in writing to the Commission and sent by registered mail, addressed to the secretary, United States Maritime Commission, Washington, D. C.

"(e) The term 'maximum vessel profit' as used herein shall mean an amount based on the unadjusted vessel price determined in accordance with the following table:

Unadjusted vessel price	Maximum vessel profit
\$2,200,000	\$25,000
2,150,000	30,000
2,100,000	35,000
2,050,000	40,000
2,000,000	45,000
1,950,000	50,000
1,900,000	55,000
1,850,000	66,000
1,800,000	77,500
1,750,000	89,000
1,700,000	100,000

"In the event of a decrease in the unadjusted vessel price made pursuant to the provisions of paragraph (d) hereof, the maximum profit shall be increased by the difference between the maximum vessel profit shown on the preceding table for the unadjusted vessel price in effect prior to the decrease and that shown on such table for the unadjusted vessel price subsequent to such decrease, multiplied by the number of vessels the keels of which have not been laid. In the event of any increase in the unadjusted vessel price made as aforesaid, the maximum profit shall be decreased by an amount equal to the difference between the maximum vessel profit, shown in the preceding table for

the unadjusted vessel price as so increased and that shown for the unadjusted vessel price as in effect prior to the increase, multiplied by the number of vessels the keels of which have not been laid. In no event, however, shall the maximum profit as adjusted under the provisions hereof exceed the sum of \$1,900,000."

The records further show that said contract MCC-34973, although dated "as of January 2, 1945," was not transmitted to you for signature until February 15, 1945. Thus, it appears that the contractor here involved selected the unadjusted vessel price of \$2,100,000 for each of the first nine vessels, although it is indicated that 12 keels had been laid and 6 hulls launched prior to the actual date of execution of the contract—February 15, 1945. It is understood that the purpose of the so-called selective-fixed price form of contract is to enable the contractor to make a profit commensurate with the risk of loss assumed in the performance of the contract work. That is to say, by the terms of such contract, the contractor is obliged to indicate a fixed price for a particular vessel prior to laying its keel, and if he selects a high price for such vessel—with the comparatively small risk that the cost of construction of such vessel will exceed the price selected—his allowable profit is correspondingly low. However, if, as indicated by the facts presently before this office, the contractor here involved had partially completed several of the vessels—under which circumstances the approximate construction cost of such vessels probably would be known to the contractor—it is difficult to perceive a logical consistency between the theory of the form of contract and the facts existing at the time the subject contract was executed. In other words, the selective-fixed-price form of contract would appear properly for use only where the contractor is required to select the vessel price prior to the laying of its keel—as the contract expressly provides in said article 10.

Article 30 of the contract provides:

"(a) The commission and its chairman have determined that the profits to be derived by the contractor hereunder can be determined with reasonable certainty when the contract price specified was established, and has exempted this contract from the provisions of subparagraphs 1 and 2 of paragraph (b) of section 405 [403] of the Sixth Supplemental National Defense Appropriation Act (Public 528, 77th Cong., 2d sess.) as amended by title VIII of Public Law 753 (77th Cong., 2d sess.) and Public Law 235 (78th Cong.). It is hereby agreed that the contract price hereunder shall not be subject to renegotiation, nor shall the Commission have any right to retain amounts otherwise due the contractor or require the repayment by the contractor of any profits, except as hereinbefore otherwise expressly provided.

"(b) In compliance with said section 405 [403], as amended, the contractor shall insert in the subcontracts specified in said section the provisions required by said section."

Presumably the said article 30 is incorporated in the subject contract pursuant to authority conferred upon the War Contracts Price Adjustment Board under section 403 (1) (4) (B) of the Renegotiation Act, as amended, which authority appears to have been delegated to the Maritime Commission and its chairman with respect to Maritime Commission contracts. (See, in this latter connection, 10 P. R. 1049.) However, in view of the range of \$500,000 (\$2,200,000-\$1,700,000) available to the contractor under said article 10 as a fixed price for each vessel and in view of the difference of \$75,000 (\$100,000-\$25,000) in the amount of the maximum vessel profit allowable thereunder, there is not understood the basis upon which it could have been determined—as recited in said article 30—that "the profits to be derived" under the contract "can be determined with

reasonable certainty when the contract price was established."

A report dated May 1, 1945, submitted by the representatives, of this office in connection with the subject contract, reads in part:

"The following is a summary of payments and costs under Contract No. MCC-34973 through progress payment application No. 5, dated April 21, 1945 (no payments have been made under contract No. MCC-34760):

Base contract price, 9 vessels at \$2,100,000, 10 vessels at \$1,700,000	\$35,900,000.00
Less value of materials furnished by U. S. Marine Corps as specified in art 4 of contract (\$802,000 per vessel)	15,238,000.00
Adjusted contract price	20,662,000.00
Value of work performed for construction based on 61.2645 percent of completion as at Apr. 15, 1945	12,658,470.99
Less contractual hold-back (4 percent)	506,338.84
Total payments on applications	12,152,132.15
Deduct contractor's stated costs as of Apr. 15, 1945:	
Material	525,433.73
Labor	5,566,153.35
Overhead	1,333,920.37
Direct charges	1,145,372.84
	7,570,880.29
Overpayment	4,581,251.86

¹ U. S. Marine Corps exceptions not deducted.

"The huge overpayment reflected above, on the basis of 61.2645 percent of contract completion, would indicate an ultimate overpayment of approximately \$7,487,618, less maximum contract profits of \$1,315,000, or a net overpayment of \$6,172,618."

Apparently the term "overpayment" in the above report is used in the sense that the stated amount will eventually be for repayment to the Government under the provisions of article 10. However, if the facts concerning progress payments under the contract and the amounts of the contractor's costs are as indicated, it would seem obvious that not only were the profits to be derived under the contract not determinable in advance "with reasonable certainty"—thereby raising a question as to the authority to exempt the subject contract from the provisions of the Renegotiation Act, as amended—but that the contractor is receiving under the contract amounts far in excess of what the contract provisions contemplate will be paid—or, at least, retained. It is equally obvious that such a situation is inimical to the interests of the Government even though in this situation the contractor may be financially sound. It is suggested that consideration be given to the withholding of further payments under the subject contract until such time as the contractor's costs, plus allowable profit, more closely approximate the amount of the contract payments.

I should appreciate your views with respect to the matters herein discussed.

Respectfully,

LINDSAY C. WARREN,
Comptroller General of the United States.

Mr. AIKEN. It would appear from a reading of these documents, that when the General Accounting Office became insistent in its demand for cost figures pertaining to certain contracts, the Maritime Commission first submitted reports

of cost which were prepared by the contractor himself. When these reports were not accepted by the General Accounting Office, the Maritime Commission then converted cost-type contracts into fixed-price contracts.

It is apparent that the reason for the change in the form of these contracts was to avoid furnishing evidence establishing that the amounts which were represented to be the costs of the contractor were the actual costs and were proper for reimbursement by the Government.

In plain words, the Maritime Commission in converting cost-type contracts to fixed-price contracts clearly intended to conceal the actual cost of constructing these vessels from the General Accounting Office and to prevent that agency from performing its duties as required by law.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. AIKEN. I yield.

Mr. LANGER. Has the Senator introduced a resolution for the purpose of remedying the situation?

Mr. AIKEN. No; I have not. I am glad the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON], who is a member of the Mead committee, is present. I think that committee has authority to go into this matter.

I further call attention of the Senate to the fact that we have a standing committee of the Senate, namely, the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments. The duties of that committee should be to examine into the manner in which public money is spent by the various Government departments. The committee was established many years ago and has never been permitted to function because of the lack of funds.

Mr. LANGER. It has no funds?

Mr. AIKEN. No. I believe the committee requires a substantial staff of legal and technical experts, and having once been supplied with them it should work in cooperation with the General Accounting Office. I believe the committee should be made one of the most important committees of the Congress and if it functioned there would be no need for many of the special investigating committees which operate from time to time. I realize, also, that all the special investigating committees which are appointed from time to time have their work cut out for them and do meritorious service.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Swanson, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had agreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 3035) to reclassify the salaries of postmasters, officers, and employees of the Postal Service; to establish uniform procedures for computing compensation; and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the House had disagreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 3199) making appropriations for the Department of Labor, the Federal Security Agency, and related independent agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30,

1946, and for other purposes; agreed to the conference asked by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. HARE, Mr. TARVER, Mr. THOMAS of Texas, Mr. KIRWAN, Mr. ENGEL of Michigan, Mr. KEEFE, and Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN, were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

WAR AGENCIES APPROPRIATION

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 3368) making appropriations for war agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1946, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HOEV in the chair). The pending amendment of the committee will be stated.

The amendment was, on page 15, line 15, after "\$39,670,215", to strike out "reducing the Office of War Information by \$17,000,000 to apply to the estimates for activities in Europe and the United States."

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, I may be chasing the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow; I may be indulging in fond but vain hopes, but before my distinguished and lovable friend from New Mexico [Mr. CHAVEZ] makes the motion which he announced on the 20th of June that he would make, I wish to make some observations in the hope that I may be able to convince him and his cosponsors of the FEPC that he should not press his motion at this time.

On the 20th of June 1945 the Senator from New Mexico made the following statement:

Mr. President, at the direction of the Committee on Appropriations, I submit the following notice in writing:

"In accordance with rule XL of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby give notice in writing that it is my intention to move to suspend paragraphs 1 and 4 of rule XVI for the purpose of proposing to the bill (H. R. 3368), making appropriations for war agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1946, and for other purposes, the following amendment, namely: On page 1, after line 8, insert the following:"

That amendment has been reduced to print, and is on every Senator's desk. Presently the Senator from New Mexico will make the motion which he announced that he would make. He is so persistent and so insistent, or has been such, that on yesterday he made several observations. Among them he expressed a desire that the Senate convene at 11 o'clock today and at the end of the day hold a night session. Few Senators wish for the Senate to convene at 11 o'clock on any day, and there is a fewer number of them who wish to be held in the Senate Chamber during the night in order to discuss weighty problems of government.

In the pending bill, if my calculation is correct, there is provision for 16 war agencies. I will name them so that the public may know just what my friend from New Mexico and his cosponsors are planning to do. The agencies to which I refer are as follows: The National War Labor Board, Office of Alien Property Custodian, Office of Defense Transportation, Office of Economic Stabilization, Office of Scientific Research and Development, Office of Inter-American Affairs,

Office of War Information, War Production Board, Smaller War Plants Corporation, War Shipping Administration, Office of Censorship, Office of Strategic Services, Petroleum Administration for War, Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, Selective Service, and War Relocation Authority—16 important war agencies.

The bill now under consideration contains appropriations for the life and maintenance of these 16 agencies as provided in the bill as it passed the House. A herculean effort was made in the House by the sponsors of the FEPC to incorporate an appropriation for the continuance of the FEPC; but all in vain. So the bill came to the Senate with 16 agencies; it went to the Senate Committee on Appropriations with 16 agencies; it came out of the committee with 16 agencies; it is now under consideration; we are practically through passing on these 16 agencies, and in a few minutes we could have a roll call and these 16 agencies would be perpetuated by an appropriation of the Congress, and there would be no trouble.

But since the 20th day of June we have been threatened by my distinguished and lovable friend from New Mexico, a gentleman from the wild and woolly West, who is coming up with his little squirt gun and is going to squirt into this bill the poison of the FEPC.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BILBO. I cannot yield now; I do not want to be disturbed.

The Senator from New Mexico is going to squirt his poison into this bill, and when he does he knows that he is going to kill these 16 war agencies in the bill, which is now ready to be consummated by a vote of the Senate.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Will my good friend yield now?

Mr. BILBO. I will not yield yet.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Mississippi declines to yield.

Mr. BILBO. I am afraid the Senator from New Mexico might disturb the continuity of my thoughts.

Mr. President, if the Senator from New Mexico makes the motion—and I beg of him, I pray that he will not make it; but if he makes it and a sufficient number of Senators vote to suspend the rule of the Senate, which is a necessary procedure in order to inject this poison into the bill, it will bring about the death of these 16 agencies by midnight Saturday; and I want the world to know that the responsibility of killing these 16 agencies is upon the shoulders of the sponsors of this damnable legislative monstrosity called the FEPC. Why? Because for days and weeks we have been giving the sponsors of the FEPC notice that those who believe that this is the worst and most vicious piece of legislation in the history of the American Congress were going to fight it to the death, and with extended remarks, in order that the American people might know all there is connected with the FEPC. I say that in good faith, not as a filibusterer. I am not filibustering yet, but whenever the Senator from New Mexico makes his motion to suspend the

rule, I give him warning now that the filibuster will start. This is merely a prelude, if you please.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me now?

Mr. BILBO. I will not yield; I am busy.

This thing they call the FEPC was born in sin and brought forth in iniquity. Some Senators possibly do not know the history of it, and I have a suspicion—indeed, I have a faith—that if the thinking people of America knew how this miserable concoction was brought about they would rise up and say, "Kill the snake, and kill it now."

I am reading from a new book, the title of which is "What the Negro Wants." It is edited by Rayford W. Logan, who is a gentleman of color, and the contributors to this book are Mary McLeod Bethune, Sterling A. Brown, W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Gordon B. Hancock, Leslie Pinckney Hill, Langston Hughes, Rayford W. Logan, Frederick D. Patterson, A. Philip Randolph—do not forget that name—George S. Schuyler, Willard S. Townsend, Charles H. Wesley, Doxey A. Wilkerson, and Roy Wilkins—the worst of them all.

I find in the book, on page 16, where the true story of the origin of the FEPC is set forth.

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President, if the Senator from Mississippi will yield, how many pages are there in the book?

Mr. BILBO. For the Senator's information, I will say there are 352 pages, but I shall read only one of them now.

Mr. CHANDLER. Is the Senator on page 16?

Mr. BILBO. I am about to read from page 16.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, I understand there are 16 volumes in the set, and the Senator is reading from only one volume. Is that correct?

Mr. BILBO. That is correct.

Mr. President, if you want to know how this thing was brought about in American life, listen to this Negro by the name of Logan, who edits this book:

In recent years some Negroes have adapted an old American technique for the solution of the problem, namely, the march on Washington.

Since—

Listen to this—this is Logan talking—

Since I sat with Mr. A. Philip Randolph and Mr. Eugene Davidson in the all-day conference with Mayor LaGuardia, of New York, and Mr. Aubrey Williams—

Members of the Senate have heard of him, I believe—

that culminated in the President's Executive Order 8802 of June 25, 1941, I can bespeak the power—

Listen—

I can bespeak the power—

Power of what?—

the power of a threatened march.

What march? A march on Washington.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a moment?

Mr. BILBO. No.

Power of the threatened march is what brought about the signing and issuance of Executive Order 8802 on June 25, 1941.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BILBO. I will ask the Senator to wait until I get through, and I will yield to him then. The article continues:

There are, however, definite limitations on this power.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President—

Mr. BILBO. I trust the Senator will not insist. I have the floor. I very courteously refused to yield. When I get through I will yield. So I shall ask the Senator just to be quiet until I get through. I read further:

There are, however, definite limitations on its power. Restrictions on travel have nullified it for the duration of the war and will probably curtail it in the crucial period when the European peace conference is held. Housing conditions in Washington and in many other "boom" cities during these same periods further restrict the number who would "march." Even under the best conditions, the march can be used only occasionally unless such a small number participate as to make the march appear to be a bluff. Constant vigilance would have to be exercised against agents, provocateurs, or outside hoodlums determined to create disorder or a riot. I definitely favor the March-on-Washington or on other cities only as a rare, dramatic, powerful weapon which should be used only when all other methods have failed.

In other words, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Pullman Car Porters Union, along with his confederates, with the aid and assistance of the NAACP—

Mr. President, a note has just been handed me by the Senator from New Mexico, and I will just have to yield to him. [Laughter.]

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, on account of previous engagements, I ask unanimous consent that I may be excused from attending sessions of the Senate today and tomorrow, and until I return sometime on Friday.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the leave is granted.

Mr. HATCH. I thank the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. BILBO. It was a pleasure. One vote gone. [Laughter.]

A. Philip Randolph, with the aid and assistance of the NAACP, under the administration of Walter White, had organized 200,000 Negroes, and had announced they were going to march on Washington, and remain here until they had obtained what they wanted. In those days we were preparing for war; we were busy, and the President did not want any such tragedy to happen in the city of Washington. He knew it meant a riot, he knew it meant trouble, he knew it meant bloodshed. All day long Eugene Davidson, Randolph, Aubrey Williams, and LaGuardia, wrestled with the President, and they finally persuaded him, and under this threat, as this Negro said, of the march on Washington and the disastrous results and consequences of 200,000 Negroes being thrown into

Washington all in a day, the President signed, under force, under threat, Order No. 8802, to satisfy and pacify and to stop this insistent minority that proposed to do by force what they had been unable to do through regular legislative channels in a free government.

Mr. President, that was the birth of the movement. Later they insisted that the President go further, and he issued a second order. I have forgotten the number of it, but the effect was the same. It is under this set-up, under these two Executive orders, that the FEPC has been operating.

Mr. President, I wish to read an editorial from the News and Courier of Charleston, S. C., which gives one excuse for the FEPC:

For the passage by Congress of a bill perpetuating the FEPC, at least one argument can be advanced. It would make the issue plain. Were the bill to become law and attempt to enforce it were made, it would and it should be disobeyed and resisted in the South. The South should put those who would enforce it on notice that they would need send an army of coercion to occupy the South—even as armies are this day occupying Germany.

The proponents of the measure would as well understand that the right of a textile corporation, of a newspaper corporation, a bank, or any other corporation or employer, to discriminate between races will be upheld by force, in the South, if necessary, that nothing short of military coercion will prevent the South from nullifying an FEPC bill if it shall become a law.

The FEPC bill is a preliminary step toward compelled racial amalgamation, and the News and Courier is convinced that the overwhelming majority of northern white people are opposed to it. It is convinced that the rational leaders of colored people in the South are also opposed to it.

If another reconstruction is to be attempted in the South, the sooner that the issue shall be understood, the better for the American people. Passage of the FEPC bill by Congress would uncover the designs of the politicians who would sell out the white race for the Negro vote in a dozen great American cities.

If we abstract and take away from the FEPC issue its value as a vote-getting proposition, there will not be enough votes for this bill in the Congress to conduct a funeral.

Mr. President, I am not filibustering, but I intend to if the motion is made to suspend the rule.

With reference to filibustering, I do not think it is so bad, after all. I received the following telegram from New York:

JUNE 22, 1945.

Senator THEODORE G. BILBO:

Organized newspaper men and women—

I hope the boys in the Press Gallery are not organized—

Organized newspaper men and women object to any attempt to filibuster FEPC measure. Certain all advocates of democracy agree such technique strikes at the heart of American traditions.

JOHN F. RYAN,

General Organizer, Newspaper Guild of New York.

Well, I am not going to step on anybody's toes in the newspaper world—un-

less they are organized. This is what I wired in reply:

General Organizer John F. Ryan.

I could not tell whether he was white or black. I just called him organizer.

Your audacious telegram of June 22 was received today and I note your observations on the right of a Senator to filibuster against rotten and communistic proposed legislation. The right, righteousness, and privilege of a Senator to speak without limit against vicious, un-American, and unconstitutional legislative monstrosities like the FEPC are honored with greater age than either you or any of your Newspaper Guild members. I know I am a better Democrat than any member of your organization. I do not have to prove it. I admit it. I am fighting for and in behalf of true American democracy, American freedom, and the American way of life, all of which is denied in the damnable FEPC proposed legislation. The legislative history of the American Senate shows that every successful filibuster has in after years proved the wisdom and virtue of the right of filibustering. When you question the technique of so-called filibustering and charge that it strikes at the heart of American traditions you lay yourself wide open to the indictment that you neither know nor understand anything about American traditions.

I want all to hear this:

Let me tell you and your organization that if these pinkish, communistic, off-brand, minority pressure groups keeps on trying to force their foolish, un-American and unconstitutional conceptions upon free America you will eventually arouse the wrath of the great majority of liberty-loving free Americans to such a point that they will figuratively liquidate the whole miserable and conglomerate gang or gangs. Yours for good old America in the same good old way.

THEO. G. BILBO,
United States Senator.

Mr. President, I wish to repeat what is in that telegram. If these minorities which are coming to the Congress with all sorts of communistic, foolish, absurd, unconstitutional, and un-American propositions, in what they call a New Deal or a New Order, or whatever they want to call it, continue their present activities, by-and-by the American people, the great rank and file of the thinking, stable, and reliable American people, are going to become fed up on it, there will be a revolution in this country, and the people will put this bunch out of business. For a while we had government by bureaus—a bureaucratic government. Now an effort is being made to have a government by minorities.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BILBO. I yield.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Does not the Senator from Mississippi believe that the States themselves can handle this problem?

Mr. BILBO. Certainly I do. Governor Dewey and the Legislature of New York think they can handle it, because the legislature has already passed a very strong FEPC law. The State of New Jersey has also passed one. The telegram of opposition which I just read comes from the great State of New York, which already has an FEPC law. I wonder what will happen to the poor people of New

York State when they are faced with two regiments or two armies—one representing the State of New York and the other representing the Federal Government, if Congress were to pass FEPC legislation? I wonder what will happen to the people of that State when military units are authorized to go into every man's private business in New York to see if he has hired a certain Jew, to see if he has hired a certain Negro, or a certain Pole, or a certain Italian, or a certain Catholic, or a certain someone else.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Does not the Senator believe that we should permit the States which already have passed a law dealing with the subject to try it out and see how it works with them before we try to enact a national law?

Mr. BILBO. Precisely.

A few days ago I placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a petition signed by members of the bar of the State of Massachusetts begging the Legislature of Massachusetts to withhold any action until it was seen how the law would work in the State of New York. I understand the Legislature of Massachusetts did not pass the proposed measure. If I am wrong I wish someone would correct me.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. I believe the Senator feels as I do. The Senator resents, as I do, someone 3,000 miles away from the South or from our State telling us how to conduct the affairs of our State.

Mr. BILBO. I certainly believe in local self-government, and the less government we have on the banks of the Potomac the happier and better the people of this country will be. We have too much of it, anyway.

The other day I received a telegram from the State of Georgia signed by a lot of Negroes and white Quislings of that great State in the South. I replied to it. I shall not take the time of the Senate to read what I said to them on that occasion, but I ask that it may be printed at this point in the RECORD as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
June 19, 1945.

Rev. WILLIAM HOLMES BORDERS,
Dr. M. ASHEY JONES, and
ARMAND MAY,
Atlanta, Ga.

DEAR GEORGIANS: Your letter of June 19, enclosing an alleged petition from the citizens of the State of Georgia addressed to the Members of the Congress of the United States and a list of the national groups supporting a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission, was received today.

I note that you state that your petition was circulated for a period of only 4 days, but it is strange and mystifying that you did not give the address of any petitioner; so it is natural to presume that the great majority of these petitioners, representing Negroes, quislings of the white race, and other racial minorities hail from the city of Atlanta, the hotbed of southern Negro intelligentsia, Communists, pinks, Reds, and other off-brands of American citizenship in the South.

In your letter you make the following statement: "We had thought for some time there was widespread misunderstanding of the provisions of this bill." You never uttered a greater truth than you have in these words. If the American people—North, South, East, and West—really understood the provisions of the so-called FEPC bill, there would be a Nation-wide revolution against its perpetuation.

You or someone for you have drafted a petition that contains more misinformation—or shall I say downright misrepresentations—erroneous conclusions, and mischievous impressions than I have seen in any one document in a lifetime. I am sure that persons of really intelligent, informed, and analytical minds would not have signed this petition because it is wholly fraudulent on its face.

I note with special interest the incomplete list of national groups supporting the so-called permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission. The names of these groups unquestionably reveal the two outstanding groups of American citizens who are urging the passage of this most communistic legislative monstrosity ever presented to the Congress. Of course, there are many good, well-meaning citizens who are members of the organizations that you list, but those who control the policies of these mingy groups are totally and wholly unmindful of the definite provisions of the Constitution of the United States, the rights of the American people, and in general the American way of life.

You state in your petition: "Today two schools of thought are in conflict: Democracy with its philosophy of individual rights and dignity; fascism, with its ideology of force built on discrimination against racial and religious minorities."

The whole conception of the proposed FEPC legislation is most certainly in violation of the American doctrine of individual rights and dignity. The whole scheme of this communistic conception of government is to use force instead of education, training, and culture to attain the evident ends and purposes of the sponsors of this un-American and unconstitutional legislative monstrosity.

This legislation is entirely foreign to the principles of American democracy and philosophy of the dual system of our great scheme of constitutional government. This proposed legislation is a studied and planned scheme of the communistic minds of this country to drive the entering wedge that will eventually split and destroy the unity that should obtain in every part of our country and with our American people regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin.

I did not mean to refer in this statement to our late lamented President Roosevelt who issued his directive No. 8802 under the threat and force of the "On to Washington movement" of 200,000 Negroes who, under the leadership of A. Phillip Randolph, threatened to overrun Washington in the midst of our war preparation with these 200,000 Negroes. The President had to do something to avert this tragic scene and disruption at the time.

The purposes and results of the FEPC will be discontent, dissatisfaction, and innumerable race conflicts not alone in the South but in every community and State of our Nation. The principles of equality, justice, fair dealings, and guaranty of the rights of the individual citizen regardless of race, creed, color, religion, or national origin must be brought about by the processes of education, training, and culture.

Many of the sponsors of this "damnphool" legislation have been led to believe that by its enforcement they will break down the social, cultural, and color lines that are naturally drawn because of the traits, creeds,

peculiarities, and nationalities of our cosmopolitan population. These wild pink-eyed liberals or socialistic dreamers, knowing that by nature water and oil will not mix, propose by force and through an act of Congress to do the impossible.

The intelligentsia of the Negro race believes that through the FEPC they will hasten the day of destroying the color line and bring about social equality between the white man and the black man by which the wise ones hope eventually, by the process of miscegenation and mongrelization, to destroy both the white and black races.

No good citizen wants to deny equal and exact justice to any citizen because of race, creed, color, religion, or national origin. Neither does a good citizen want to rob other citizens of an equal opportunity to live and to make a living for themselves and their loved ones, but when the unthinking and uninformed minority leaders think that by a mere act of the Congress they can rob free American citizens of the right to employ such labor as best suits their businesses and their environments and their customers, we have forgotten the American ideals and ways and adopted the communistic concepts of totally un-American and foreign ideologies.

You do the Democratic Party a great injustice when you charge that in its platform of 1944 it pledged the support of the party to a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee or Commission. There is not one word in the Democratic platform of 1944 that would justify any such unreasonable conclusion.

The right-thinking people of the United States everywhere, as they begin to understand the meaning of the FEPC legislation and its invasion of the individual rights of the American citizen and American businessman, are now registering their opposition to this fantastic and communistic un-American and unconstitutional ideology.

A few States have been driven by threats and intimidation of pinkish minorities to enact laws along these un-American lines but I think I am safe in saying that in the fields of trial these States will regret and repent of their error and gradually drift back to the good old free American way of life.

Speaking for myself, I will leave nothing undone this side of heaven or hell to defeat this damnable legislative scheme.

Yours truly,

THEO G. BILBO.

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, the petition from Georgia was signed, among others, by Lillian Smith. Have Senators ever heard of her? She is the author of the book entitled "Strange Fruit." If Senators have not read that book I hope to God they never will. It is one of the dirtiest pieces of literature that has ever been printed and circulated. It is so rotten that even the city of Boston drove it out. Boston would not have it. There are words and pen pictures in that book that are enough to corrupt American minds. It is not surprising that the colored ladies and gentlemen rush to the bookstores to buy Lillian Smith's Strange Fruit, because the theme of the book is the glorification of a love affair between a white man and a Negro woman.

Last night I received through the mail copy of a speech entitled "The White Christian and His Conscience," by Lillian Smith. I notice that the speech has been delivered—and one can tell what it is by where it was delivered—at Ford

Hall Forum in Detroit, the Institute of International Relations, Columbus, Ohio, the Community Church in New York, and in several other places. I am not going to reply to this speech now, but it was delivered in the interest of the FEPC. I am saving that for the filibuster—do Senators understand?

The next day, after I had made some observations on the petition sent from Georgia, a certain lady in this country, who writes an article in the Washington Daily News under the head of My Day, proceeded to rush to the defense of these folks down in Georgia. Let me read to the Senate what she said:

HYDE PARK, Sunday.—I have just received from Georgia a copy of a petition which some citizens of that State have sent to Members of Congress, urging enactment of the Fair Employment Practice Commission bill.

"Establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission is supported by some sixty-odd national organizations," the petition states. "Both the Republican Party and the Democratic Party are committed to such legislation by their party platforms."

Many Senators believe that Mrs. Roosevelt is intelligent, but here she is making that kind of a statement in the public press, and I defy any man to take the Democratic Party platform and find where, in one line, we endorsed the FEPC.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President—

Mr. BILBO. I ask the Senator to keep his seat. I am not ready for him yet. "by their party platforms, as well as by the fact that the Presidential nominees of both parties promised support to this legislation in the last national campaign."

That might be true. A man on the hustings running for office and trying to secure votes is likely to say anything. I have been a candidate myself.

"We are approaching the end of our military war. Events are moving swiftly."

She is quoting from the petition. Then she proceeds at length to try to defend the stand taken in the petition:

The petition is signed by many of the finest and most progressive white citizens of Georgia, as well as by many highly respected colored citizens. Mass meetings have been held in favor of the enactment of this legislation in both Washington and New York, and, I imagine, in other places.

A little mass meeting was held in Washington the other night. Walter White came down from New York, and he succeeded in having a few offcolors come and they held a meeting.

From our domestic point of view, I think it is of great importance to us that we establish once and for all the principle that there shall be no discrimination in economic opportunity among our citizens. It is not only the colored people who are concerned. We have many other minority groups who have felt the pressure of discrimination when it came to the question of employment. We have fought a war to establish the dignity of the individual—his freedom and his equal rights as a human being.

Mr. President, I agree with most of those statements. But when I say that I believe in the Negro having his rights I do not mean that it is his right to walk

into my home and to associate with my family, or marry my daughter, or go to school with my children. I do not mean that. But he has his rights. And while Governor of Mississippi for 8 years, when I found that there had been a miscarriage of justice against the poor Negro I did not hesitate to release him from the penitentiary or save his neck by executive order.

We cannot very well permit at home conditions which would curtail, or make more difficult, that freedom from want which is one of the basic freedoms that must exist side by side with political and religious freedom.

The minute Mrs. Roosevelt read my attack on the people of Georgia, she said they were great people, wonderful people, outstanding people.

Let me read something from Georgia. I have heard from Georgia again. This is from Atlanta:

DEAR SENATOR: Congratulations on your reference to Atlanta's Communist in today's Atlanta Journal; you are quite right. I hope you fight this iniquity and urge others to do so.

The signers of that petition are Negroes, negrophiles, and a cheap grade of Communist.

Let me repeat that because I want my friend from North Dakota [Mr. LANGER] to hear it:

The signers of that petition are Negroes, negrophiles, and a cheap grade of Communist.

He names them in that order.

I name them in the order of their importance. The reason they did not give addresses it would have indicated who the signers were and would have exposed some forged or fake names.

I received the following letter in reference to a telegram which was sent to me:

Last night you were sent a telegram pertaining to the FEPC. Here are the names, addresses, and phone numbers of the men who came to my office to send the message to you.

This letter is from one of the outstanding lawyers of Atlanta. He gives a list of approximately 40 names, with the addresses and telephone numbers. But in connection with the list of signatures to the petition about which I spoke, and which Mrs. Roosevelt is trying to defend, no addresses were given. We all know how that petition was drawn up. I find Lillian Smith's name on it, but her address is not given. Her address is Clayton, Ga.

The minute I tried to show the character of the petitioners and the motives behind the petition from Georgia, my good friend Mrs. Roosevelt rushed into public print to defend them, and say that they were the cream of the crop.

No family in the history of America has had more honors bestowed upon it than the family of Franklin D. Roosevelt. No man in American history deserves more honor than Franklin D. Roosevelt himself, and there has been no stronger Roosevelt admirer or supporter than the speaker on this occasion. But I had hoped that when Mrs. Roosevelt, the wife of this great and good man,

had returned to the quiet shades of the ancestral home on the historic Hudson, she would be perfectly willing, after more than 12 years of full and active life, trying in her way to run the Government, to call it a day and leave it to others to carry on. I had hoped that she would cancel her contract for My Day and keep her proboscis out of controversial questions which Members of Congress are trying to settle in the interest of their constituents and for the welfare of the Nation as a whole.

In this connection I have another thought. If this good woman had given one-half the attention to rearing and directing the lives and affairs of her own brood that she has given to trying to force recognition and social equality of the American Negro, she would not today be embarrassed with headline stories about some of her offspring.

That is enough about the lady from Hyde Park for the present.

I wish to read a letter from Georgia. I shall not give the names of the writers of these letters, because I have not had time to communicate with them and obtain their permission to use their names. I do not care to put their names in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD without the permission of the writers. This writer states, as follows:

The white people of Atlanta and all Georgia should be, and I'm sure they are, most thankful that you put your finger on the sore spot of disunity—Atlanta. Your statement as reported by AP and carried in Atlanta papers was timely and correct.

For many months we have been bedeviled with nagging editorials—pseudo uplifters—slanted radio commentators, and what not. All Georgia is just as sick and tired of being driven around like dumb cattle as I am sure you in Washington must be.

Newsstands are loaded with pro-Negro propaganda. Churchmen have been roped in on the deal to soften the South and, just as you say, every variety of propink radical imagination seems to feel that we are ready to turn over southern tradition to the slick schemers for a brown America.

It is the hope of this writer that you will continue to be the fearless foe of devilry that you have always been; that you will keep on exposing the malefactors of the FEPC and its allies, to the end that we may some day have peace and harmony, and not civil war when our boys come home.

Here is another letter, just received this morning. I am almost tempted to give the name of the writer, but I shall not do so:

JUNE 25, 1945.

HON. THEODORE G. BILBO,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Please permit me to congratulate you on possessing that fine type of Americanism enabling you to write such a clear and convincing letter to a committee of local citizens (blacks, white, and radicals), who asked you to assist in putting over the FEPC bill. The men with your courage are all too few. What will become of our beloved country if it is to be administered in the interest of minorities? Minorities have their rights, but the right to rule is not included.

Please urge our good President to administer the United States of America in the interest of the great majority, that is the good

men and women of both parties. Unfortunately they are unorganized, but they total millions. If he will do this he will draw unto himself millions, and he will not have to worry about reelection. He will reenter the White House with thirty-odd million votes.

A very good friend of yours who was with me here recently, gave me the good report that you had entirely regained your full strength and health. I was mighty glad to hear it. You are needed to battle for America in this very critical hour.

My best wishes go out to you.

Here is a letter from a good woman. It is on the letterhead of the Henry Grady Hotel, Atlanta:

MY DEAR MR. BILBO: I know that I am echoing the feelings of thousands of southerners when I express my unbounded thanks for your stand against the FEPC and for your courage to reply as you did to the leaders of the recent petition sent you from this city.

Lillian Smith—

She knows her.

Lillian Smith, Ashby Jones—

A defunct ex-Baptist preacher—

and their coworkers have openly declared their fight "to the death" against all segregation of the races and have stated that the only solution of the race problem lies in the dissolution of one race into the other.

Let me digress at this point to say that the sum and substance of the hope, prayer, and desire of every one of the 18 spokesmen for the Negro race in the United States led by Dr. Boas as appears from the book, *What the Negro Wants*, is social equality and intermarriage of the races. There are 19 States in America which do not prohibit the marriage of Negroes and whites. The District of Columbia is also in that category. Any one who has no more regard for the integrity of the white race than to encourage, permit, or insist upon intermarriage of the races ought to be liquidated, deported, or put out of business in some way.

I continue reading from the letter:

Their battle cry is miscegenation, and four times within recent months I have seen in their papers the following quotation from an article by one D. G. Croly, who coined the words: "All that is needed to make us the finest race on earth is to engraft upon our stock the Negro element which Providence"—

And all the time I thought it was the slave traders—

"has placed by our side on this continent. We must become yellow-skinned, black-haired people if we would obtain the fullest results of civilization."

That is the dream of most of the Negro intelligentsia—not all of them, thank God.

Lillian Smith was a student at Columbia University, and fell under the tutelage of that distinguished anthropologist, Dr. Boas, a German Jew, from Germany, who thought that interbreeding of the whites and blacks was the proper solution of the race question. The Senator from North Dakota did not fall under his teachings; I am sure of that.

I read further from the letter:

In an address last week, one of the speakers for FEPC used these phrases, which I was able to take down: "The organic universality

of the human race"; "the physical and biological unification of mankind"; "the necessity for the merging of the races in the United States."

At a gathering of business people the other evening mention was made of the Negro petition sent you. One executive of a business firm here stated that he could find 7,000 opponents to FEPC in less time than Ashby Jones et al., got their 700 signers, but that they, like him, hesitated to have their names published because of fear of recriminations and labor trouble. All those present expressed apprehension over the snooping of Negro organizations and white radicals in their efforts to ascertain the attitudes of employers and record in their black book the names of those who oppose their philosophy and schemes.

It seems to me that our democracy has suffered a severe blow when the threats of a powerful minority group can stifle the freedom of expression of another group. I know that thousands of your fellow southerners support you in your fight to prevent the passage of the unfair employment practices legislation. Thank you and more power to you.

Now I read a letter from Atlanta, Ga.:

ATLANTA, GA., June 23, 1945.

Senator BILBO of Mississippi,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: I want to congratulate you on your stand against M. Ashby Jones, William Borders, and Armand May, of Atlanta, because they certainly do not represent the people generally of Atlanta. Jones quit as a Baptist minister, and has been working for the Negroes, Jews, and Catholics with the general belief prevailing he is being paid by the Rosenwald fund; so I have no confidence in anything he says.

I do not know about that; I am just reading the letter. It continues as follows:

The Lord would not have made the Negroes black and other race white if He had intended them to be equal socially, so all attempts to equalize the races socially is directly against divine intentions and nature in my opinion.

I have just finished reading—and I recommend it to the scholars and students of the Senate—a book by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. The title is "Color and Democracy." The writing of the book was finished on the 1st day of January 1945. In the book Dr. DuBois takes the position that all the work which has been done at San Francisco is null and void, and that we are headed for another war, and that the next war will be a race war. He says it will not be long in coming. He says that the way in which the colonials of all the empires and countries of the world will be treated under the San Francisco Charter is such that there will be dissatisfaction and unrest and a rebellion of the colored people of all the nations of all the earth against the white man and his rule.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me now?

Mr. BILBO. Not yet. I am just getting started, and I do not want to be bothered.

Dr. DuBois says in his book that there is no question that there will be a race war. He tells how it will come about. He says that the San Francisco Charter does not do anything about it because it does not give recognition or any hope to the colonials or to the minorities within the free countries, including the United

States. Therefore, he says, they are under his leadership, ready to be led into an all-out world race war and conflict. His book is calculated to do more harm and to twist and corrupt and mislead the brains of more Negroes in the United States than any book which has been written in a century. That was the purpose of the book. The author not only prophesies a world war between the races but he really wants it to occur, because he thinks the members of the colored races outnumber the whites, and that when the war comes it will be his day. Dr. DuBois is a Massachusetts Negro. He was born in Massachusetts. He went south, and was educated at Fisk University. He went back north and went to Harvard College, and later was educated in Germany. He says he had to run away from Germany to keep from marrying a white woman.

Now he is the head research man of the NAACP, Walter White's organization in New York, and this book is one of the fruits of the NAACP, for the support of which some of you philanthropists are contributing your money.

There is another book which should be taken off the book racks of the Nation; it should be removed from the book stores; its sale should be stopped. It is the recent book of the month, which has had such a great sale. Senators can understand why it has had such a sale if they will read it. It is entitled "Black Boy," by Richard Wright. Richard Wright is a Mississippian. He was born and reared near Natchez, Miss. He went from Natchez to Jackson, from Jackson to Memphis, from Memphis to Chicago, and from Chicago to Brooklyn, N. Y., where he is married to a white woman and is living happily, he says. He wrote the book *Black Boy* ostensibly as the story of his life. Actually it is a damnable lie from beginning to end. It is practically all fiction. There is just enough truth to it to enable him to build his fabulous lies about his experiences in the South and his description of the people of the South and the culture, education, and life of the southern people. The purpose of the book is to plant the seeds of hate in every Negro in America against the white men of the South or against the white race anywhere, for that matter. That is the purpose. Its purpose is to plant the seeds of devilment and trouble-breeding in the days to come in the mind and heart of every American Negro. Read the book if you do not believe what I am telling you. It is the dirtiest, filthiest, lousiest, most obscene piece of writing that I have ever seen in print. I would hate to have a son or daughter of mine be permitted to read it; it is so filthy and so dirty. But it comes from a Negro, and you cannot expect any better from a person of his type.

Now I wish to read another letter. It comes from Georgia:

JUNE 22, 1945.

Senator BILBO, of Mississippi,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: I enclose the clipping from last night's Journal. I felt you would be interested in having it.

I have just had lunch with a leading citizen who holds the same view I have and that is that we agree fully with your statement and yet though we do know what a lot of sorry folks we have here, yet they are a very small majority. As an actual fact we have some mighty fine folks here and we are all proud of our State.

What impressed me most was a statement made by this friend I ate luncheon with and it was this:

"They had 736 signatures on that petition, but if they had taken the signatures of those who are against that petition and against the FEPC they would have had over 10,000 names on that one to the 736 names that had for it."

That proportion you see is a ratio of 7.3 for and 92.7 percent against it. So you can let your constituents and associates know that regardless of that petition they represent a mighty small ratio. I bet further, too, that of the majority of those who signed it, that they do not even know what it is all about.

More strength to you. Just please keep my name out of the picture, please.

Cordially yours.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BILBO. I yield.

Mr. BAILEY. The amendment under discussion refers to certain Executive orders. Have they been printed in the RECORD?

Mr. BILBO. I did not understand the Senator's question.

Mr. BAILEY. The amendment under discussion refers to certain Executive orders. I wish to know if those orders have been printed in the RECORD.

Mr. BILBO. No; they have not been printed in the RECORD.

Mr. BAILEY. I had great difficulty in getting them, but I now have them. I think they should be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. BILBO. I also think they should be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. BAILEY. At this point, or at the conclusion of the Senator's speech—

Mr. BILBO. I shall be glad to have them included now.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point Executive Order 8802, and Executive Order 9346.

There being no objection, the Executive orders were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXECUTIVE ORDER 8802—REAFFIRMING POLICY OF FULL PARTICIPATION IN THE DEFENSE PROGRAM BY ALL PERSONS, REGARDLESS OF RACE, CREED, OR COLOR, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN, AND DIRECTING CERTAIN ACTION IN FURTHERANCE OF SAID POLICY

Whereas it is the policy of the United States to encourage full participation in the national defense program by all citizens of the United States, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin, in the firm belief that the Democratic way of life within the Nation can be defended successfully only with the help and support of all groups within its borders; and

Whereas there is evidence that available and needed workers have been barred from employment in industries engaged in defense production solely because of consideration of race, creed, color, or national origin, to the detriment of workers' morale and of national unity:

Now, therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes, and as a prerequisite to the suc-

cessful conduct of our national defense production effort, I do hereby reaffirm the policy of the United States that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries, or Government because of race, creed, color, or national origin, and I do hereby declare that it is the duty of employers and of labor organizations, in furtherance of such policy and of this order, to provide for the full and equitable participation of all workers in defense industries, without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin;

And it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. All departments and agencies of the Government of the United States concerned with vocational and training programs for defense production shall take special measures appropriate to assure that such programs are administered without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

2. All contracting agencies of the Government of the United States shall include in all defense contracts hereafter negotiated by them a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any worker because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

3. There is established in the Office of Production Management a Committee on Fair Employment Practice which shall consist of a chairman and four other members to be appointed by the President. The chairman and members of the Committee shall serve as such without compensation but shall be entitled to actual and necessary transportation, subsistence, and other expenses incidental to performance of their duties.

The Committee shall receive and investigate complaints of discrimination in violation of the provisions of this order and shall take appropriate steps to redress grievances which it finds to be valid. The Committee shall also recommend to the several departments and agencies of the Government of the United States and to the President all measures which may be deemed by it necessary or proper to effectuate the provisions of this order.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, June 25, 1941.

EXECUTIVE ORDER 9346—FURTHER AMENDING EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 8802 BY ESTABLISHING A NEW COMMITTEE ON FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE AND DEFINING ITS POWERS AND DUTIES

In order to establish a new Committee on Fair Employment Practice, to promote the fullest utilization of all available manpower, and to eliminate discriminatory employment practices, Executive Order No. 8802 of June 25, 1941, as amended by Executive Order No. 8823 of July 18, 1941, is hereby further amended to read as follows:

"Whereas the successful prosecution of the war demands the maximum employment of all available workers regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin; and

"Whereas it is the policy of the United States to encourage full participation in the war effort by all persons in the United States regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin, in the firm belief that the democratic way of life within the Nation can be defended successfully only with the help and support of all groups within its borders; and

"Whereas there is evidence that available and needed workers have been barred from employment in industries engaged in war production solely by reason of their race, creed, color, or national origin, to the detriment of the prosecution of the war, the workers' morale, and national unity:

"Now, therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and statutes, and as President of the United States and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, I do hereby reaffirm the policy of the United States that there shall be no discrim-

ination in the employment of any person in war industries or in Government by reason of race, creed, color, or national origin, and I do hereby declare that it is the duty of all employers, including the several Federal departments and agencies, and all labor organizations, in furtherance of this policy and of this order, to eliminate discrimination in regard to hire, tenure, terms, or conditions of employment, or union membership because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

"It is hereby ordered as follows:

"1. All contracting agencies of the Government of the United States shall include in all contracts hereafter negotiated or renegotiated by them a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, creed, color, or national origin and requiring him to include a similar provision in all subcontracts.

"2. All departments and agencies of the Government of the United States concerned with vocational and training programs for war production shall take all measures appropriate to assure that such programs are administered without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

"3. There is hereby established in the Office for Emergency Management of the Executive Office of the President a Committee on Fair Employment Practice, hereinafter referred to as the Committee, which shall consist of a Chairman and not more than six other members to be appointed by the President. The Chairman shall receive such salary as shall be fixed by the President not exceeding \$10,000 per year. The other members of the committee shall receive necessary traveling expenses and, unless their compensation is otherwise prescribed by the President, a per diem allowance not exceeding \$25 per day and subsistence expenses on such days as they are actually engaged in the performance of duties pursuant to this order.

"4. The Committee shall formulate policies to achieve the purposes of this order and shall make recommendations to the various Federal departments and agencies and to the President which it deems necessary and proper to make effective the provisions of this order. The Committee shall also recommend to the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission appropriate measures for bringing about the full utilization and training of manpower in and for war production without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

"5. The Committee shall receive and investigate complaints of discrimination forbidden by this order. It may conduct hearings, make findings of fact, and take appropriate steps to obtain elimination of such discrimination.

"6. Upon the appointment of the Committee and the designation of its Chairman, the Fair Employment Practice Committee established by Executive Order No. 8802 of June 25, 1941, hereinafter referred to as the old Committee, shall cease to exist. All records and property of the old Committee and such unexpended balances of allocations or other funds available for its use as the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall determine shall be transferred to the Committee. The Committee shall assume jurisdiction over all complaints and matters pending before the old Committee and shall conduct such investigations and hearings as may be necessary in the performance of its duties under this order.

"7. Within the limits of the funds which may be made available for that purpose, the Chairman shall appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel and make pro-

vision for such supplies, facilities, and services as may be necessary to carry out this order. The Committee may utilize the services and facilities of other Federal departments and agencies and such voluntary and uncompensated services as may from time to time be needed. The Committee may accept the services of State and local authorities and officials, and may perform the functions and duties and exercise the powers conferred upon it by this order through such officials and agencies and in such manner as it may determine.

"8. The Committee shall have the power to promulgate such rules and regulations as may be appropriate or necessary to carry out the provisions of this order.

"9. The provisions of any other pertinent Executive order inconsistent with this order are hereby superseded."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, May 27, 1943.

Mr. BAILEY. If the Senator will yield further to me, I will read from the amendment. It appears to me that the appropriation which is being requested is a most extraordinary one. The appropriation is not for a definite sum. The amendment states in part: "For all expenses necessary to enable the Committee on Fair Employment Practice to carry out any functions," and so forth. I do not think it is customary for the Senate to authorize a bureau of the Government to enter into contracts necessitating "all expenses necessary."

The expenditure could be \$10,000,000 or \$100,000,000. The appropriation provided in the amendment is a blanket appropriation.

I thank the Senator for allowing me to make my statement.

Mr. BILBO. I appreciate the Senator's observations. They are very timely and right to the point.

It would require \$25,000,000 to enforce this damnable measure if it should ever become law, and it would require an army as well.

I continue reading from the communications which I have received. Here is a letter from Atlanta:

DEAR SENATOR: I have read with interest an article on the front page of one of our Atlanta papers of yesterday regarding the proposed FEPC bill.

I would dislike very much to see this proposed bill become a law; we certainly do not need any such national legislation, in my opinion, and I trust you will continue your fight against it as other southern Senators and Representatives are doing.

With kindest regards, I am yours very truly.

Here is a letter from Hapeville, Ga.:

DEAR SENATOR: Just a line of hearty commendation on the stand you are taking on this most disgusting and damnable FEPC.

Regardless of the State any United States Senator represents, I think all real white men should let him know he appreciates his stand. I think I know the real reason behind this dastardly scheme and anything I can do or say in my feeble way I stand ready and willing at any time. Keep up the good fight, Senator, and I think from my State you will have backing.

Yours very truly.

Here is a letter which must be all right, because it is written on the stationery of the Young Men's Christian Association.

DEAR SENATOR: Thank God we have men like you in Washington.

I have read in the Atlanta Constitution of your letter to the three "reverends" who are advocating the passage of the damnable FEPC bill.

Senator, I am a discharged veteran of World War II, having served 29 months, 17 overseas. I can tell you that 95 percent of the white, gentile veterans will not tolerate the FEPC bill if passed. Also I can tell you that the petition sent you by the Negro and two Quisling ministers is certainly not representative of the people of Atlanta, nor Georgia. The servicemen who signed it are undoubtedly Negroes. Frankly, I do not believe that over 2 percent of the men in the service who live in the North would sign such a petition. I spent 3 months in Deshon General Hospital at Butler, Pa., and there was plenty of time and opportunity to discuss the race problems in America. It is hard to find a white gentile soldier who is willing to allow the Negro equality either socially, economically, or politically. The northern politicians are afraid to speak out and oppose the Negro demands. Are the southern politicians leaning toward this "gutless" course or are they going to continue to uphold the honor and political integrity of the South?

We southerners and veterans can count on you, Senator, and Congressman RANKIN, the two great statesmen from Mississippi, to fight to the last ditch for the preservation of the white race in America. It remains to be seen if we can depend upon the others.

Eventually the show-down will come. It may mean another call to arms. You know there will be millions of southerners ready and willing to answer that call.

Respectfully yours.

The writer of this letter states, "Frankly, I do not believe that over 2 percent of the men in the service who live in the North would sign such a petition." I believe he is correct. The question involved here is not a southern one. It is a national question. If an attempt is made to enforce the law after the first day of July that old expression, "Hell will break loose in Georgia," will be changed; it will break loose in New York.

Here is a post card from an old friend of mine at Atlanta, Ga.:

ATLANTA, Ga., June 22, 1945.

DEAR SENATOR BILBO: I continuously travel the United States and give my word from close examination that the birds behind all this social race equality stuff are Jews—from that rat Winchell to the most illiterate second-hand man. They all have the same line. And they are always nagging about it.

Also, the majority of Americans (white), both North and South, ask nothing more than to be let alone by these others who are trying to break into their social and/or economic life.

The American is not articulate because he is afraid of economic reprisals or worse. He usually has a family to think of. And the sly Jew ingratiates himself with the fool Christian minister.

Sincerely.

Mr. President, I am reminded of what happened in New York the other day. A manufacturer who had a contract with the Government, and who employed many women in his organization, received a notice from Washington of a cut-back which resulted in a discharge of between 75 and 100 of his women employees. He had employed Negro women, Jewish women, and gentile white women.

He proceeded to discharge the white Christian gentiles and keep the Negroes and the Jews on the job. When he was accosted with regard to what he had done he replied, "I do not want to get mixed up in the toils of the law by having to fight with the FEPC. The first Negro woman I let out I will be charged with letting her out because of her color. If I discharged a Jewish woman, I shall be charged with discharging her because she is a Jewess. I will not take any chances. I will discharge the white gentile Christians and keep the Jews and the Negroes."

Mr. President, that will take place all over the country because the average businessman does not want to become involved with the law. It is true that the present committee does not have any power to enforce pains or penalties. They cannot put anyone in jail. But the organization goes all over the country and finds the conditions about which they report. They threaten people and intimidate them. One of the penalties is to send the names to the President. The business people are led to believe that the word will be passed down to the War Production Board, and a process of what might properly be called sanctions, such as the denial of priorities, will be put into effect, and in that way the business interests of the country will be crucified. I want the American people to know that the present FEPC has not any authority.

By the way, we are indebted to Representative RANKIN, of Mississippi, who has given us a picture of the set-up we are talking about. Let us see who they are. This is authentic; it came from official records of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice here in the city of Washington. Who are they? This is the committee:

COMMITTEE ON FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Office of the Chairman

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Ross, Malcolm	Chairman	White	\$8,000
Johnson, George M.	Deputy Chairman	Colored	8,000
Hubbard, Maceo	Hearings examiner	do	5,600
Bloch, Emanuel	do	White	5,600
Cooper, Evelyn	do	do	5,600
Berking, Max	Assistant to Chairman	do	3,800
Alexander, Dorothy	Secretary to Chairman	Colored	2,600
Clifton, J. Jeanne	Secretary to Deputy	do	2,000
Brooks, Mary	Clerk-stenographer	do	1,800
Banting, Myra	do	White	1,800

So, in the head office in Washington there are 10 people, 5 Negroes and 5 whites, most of whom have foreign names. It will be noticed that one of the white stenographers receives the smallest salary of anyone on the list. Remember that the members of this group preside over the destiny of every business enterprise in America and are using their assumed powers to harass white Americans, and put them out of business.

Now, let us look at the Field Operations Division in Washington:

Field operations

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Maslow, Will	Chief	White	\$6,500
Mitchell, Clarence	Principal fair-practice examiner	Colored	5,600
Davidson, Eugene	do	do	5,600
Beall, W. Hayes	Senior fair-practice examiner	White	4,600
Mercer, Inez	Fair-practice examiner	do	3,800
Rogers, Eleanor	Clerk-stenographer	Colored	1,800
Saito, Otome	do	Japanese-American	1,800
Thompson, Mildred	do	Colored	1,800
Cornick, Emma	do	do	1,620

So in the set-up in the Division of Field Operations, there are nine people, five Negroes, one Japanese-American, and three others, two of whom have records of affiliation with Communist-front organizations according to the reports of the Dies committee. That is the statement made by Mr. RANKIN in giving this list.

Now let us take a look at the Review and Analysis Division. It is made up as follows:

Review and Analysis Division

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Davis, John A.	Chief	Colored	\$5,600
Lawson, Marjorie	Research analyst	do	3,800
Golightly, Cornelius	Compliance analyst	do	3,200
Hemphill, India	do	do	2,600
Coan, Carol	do	White	2,600
Davis, Joy P.	do	Colored	2,600
Hoffman, Celia	Clerk-stenographer	White	1,800
Spaulding, Joan	do	Colored	1,800

It will be noted that office consists of six Negroes and two whites, one of whom is named Carol Coan, and the other Celia Hoffman, a white stenographer who receives the lowest salary on the list.

Now let us look at the Legal Division:

Legal Division

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Reeves, Frank D.	Attorney	Colored	\$4,600
Stickgold, Simon	do	White	4,600

If there is anything in names, I would be rather afraid of that fellow, Simon Stickgold.

Gordon, Jerneve, clerk-stenographer, colored, \$1,800.

It will be noted that the Legal Division consists of two Negroes and Simon Stickgold.

Information Division

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Bourne, St. Clair	Information specialist	Colored	\$3,800
Whiting, Margaret	Clerk-stenographer	do	1,800

In other words, the Information Division of the FEPC in Washington is made up of two people, and they are both Negroes. They furnish the information to the hungry, thirsting public.

Then we come to the Division of Budget and Administration. This is the Division that spends the money:

Budget and Administration

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Jones, Theodore	Chief	Colored	\$5,600
Jeter, Sinclair	Assistant administrative officer	do	3,200
Baker, Vivian D.	Clerk-stenographer	do	2,000
Jackson, Bosales A.	Clerk-typist	do	1,620
Paynter, Minnie A.	do	do	1,620
Hollomon, Irving	Clerk	do	1,440
Selby, Ralph R.	Chief, fiscal	do	2,600
Ross, Sylvia B.	Voucher auditor	do	2,000
Nelson, Otelia	Accounting clerk	do	1,620
Carpenter, Elizabeth	do	do	1,620
Brent, Pearl T.	do	do	1,620

That is the outfit, composed of 11 Negroes, which not only makes up the budget for financing this aggregation, but seems to have the power of administration. I hope all Senators will read this list to their white businessmen constituents at home when they return and ask for renomination and reelection. The whole caboodle in the Budget and Administration Divisions are colored.

I now come to the Mail and Files Division:

Mail and files

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Douglas, Lela	Chief, Mail and Files	Colored	\$2,000
Welch, Selena	Docket clerk	do	1,800
Gamble, Jessie	File clerk	do	1,620
Phillips, Rose	do	do	1,440
Reed, Charles	Messenger	do	1,380
Mitchell, Regina	File clerk	do	1,440

In that list there are six and they are all colored. We next come to the regional office, New York. This is where business is going to pick up shortly:

Regional office, New York

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Lawson, Edward H.	Regional director	Colored	\$5,600
Jones, Madison S.	Fair-practice examiner	do	3,800
Jones, Robert G.	do	do	3,800
Donovan, Daniel R.	do	White	3,800
Irish, Miriam	Clerk-stenographer	Colored	2,000
Asepha, Tillie	do	White	1,620
Schwartz, Sonia	do	do	1,620

That is the New York organization that is going to vie and compete with Governor Dewey's new set-up on the 1st day of July in the great State of New York.

I now come to the set-up in the regional office in Philadelphia:

Regional office, Philadelphia

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Fleming, G. James	Regional director	Colored	\$5,600
Greenblatt, Mildred	Fair-practice examiner	White	3,800
Manly, Milo A.	do	Colored	3,800
Fisk, Samuel R.	do	White	3,800
Grinnage, Willard	do	Colored	3,200
Gorgas, Helen	Clerk-stenographer	do	1,800
Klinger, Karyl	do	White	1,800
Brown, Grayce	do	Colored	1,440

It will be noted that the Philadelphia regional office is composed of eight individuals, five Negroes and three whites.

There will be some brotherly love when that crowd gets together on business in Philadelphia.

Regional office of Washington. Here is the regional office located in the Nation's Capital. That ought to be interesting to us Washingtonians, where there has been so much interference with gentiles in the last few years:

Regional office, Washington, D. C.

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Evans, Joseph.....	Regional director.	Colored.	\$5,600
Houston, Theophilus.....	Fair-practice examiner.	do.....	3,200
Kahn, Alice.....	do.....	White.	2,600
Chisolm, Ruby.....	Clerk-stenographer.	Colored.	1,800
Urback, Dorothy.....	do.....	do.....	1,620

Now the regional office at Cleveland, Ohio:

Regional office, Cleveland

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
McKnight, William.....	Regional director.	Colored.	\$4,600
Abbott Olcott R.....	Fair-practice examiner.	White.	3,800
Glore, Lethia.....	do.....	Colored.	3,200
Kelley, Berniza.....	Clerk-stenographer.	do.....	1,620
Wasem, Edna.....	do.....	White.	1,800

It will be noted that the Cleveland office is composed of three Negroes and two whites.

The Cincinnati regional office—this is interesting:

Cincinnati

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
James, Harold.....	Fair-practice examiner.	White.	\$4,600
.....	Clerk-stenographer.	.....	1,800

The examiner has no stenographer. They could not find a Negro stenographer conveniently, so he is without a stenographer now, I think.

As to the regional office in Detroit, Mich., I find the following:

Detroit

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Swan, Edward.....	Examiner in charge.	Colored.	\$4,600
Sese, Doris K.....	Clerk-stenographer.	Japanese-American.	1,620

The record of the regional office in Chicago is interesting. These are the employees, and I quote from the speech:

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Henderson, Elmer.....	Regional director.	Colored.	\$5,600
Gibson, Harry H. C.....	Fair-practice examiner.	do.....	3,800
Schultz, Joy.....	do.....	White.	3,800
Williams, Le Roy.....	do.....	Colored.	3,200
Zeidman Penny.....	Clerk-stenographer.	White.	1,800
Ingram, Marguerite S.....	do.....	Colored.	1,620

You will note it is composed of five Negroes, two whites, Joy Schultz and Penny Zeidman. I am told that a representative of this group went into the office of Swift & Co. and asked how many Negro members they had on their board of directors. The answer was, "We have no negro members on our board of directors." Then the answer came back, "Why haven't you?" This just shows what this supergovernmental set-up is driving at. They want to communize America and destroy everything which our glorious ancestors have left us, and for which our boys are now fighting and dying all over the world.

REGIONAL OFFICE, ATLANTA

Here is a list of the Atlanta office:

Regional office, Atlanta

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Dodge, Witherspoon.....	Regional director.	White.	\$4,600
Hope, John.....	Fair-practice examiner.	Colored.	3,800
McKay, George D.....	do.....	White.	3,200
Chubb, Sally.....	Clerk-stenographer.	do.....	2,000
Ingram, Thelma.....	do.....	Colored.	1,800

You will note that it consists of two Negroes and three whites. I wonder how the people of Georgia enjoy the domination of this group.

In the regional office in Kansas City there are Roy A. Hogland, white, \$5,600; Eugene Ormabee, white, \$3,800; Mildred Jones, colored, \$1,620; and Helene G. Schliene, white, \$1,620.

St. Louis

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Theodore Brown.....	Examiner in charge.	Colored.	\$3,800
Morris Levine.....	Examiner.	White.	3,200
Armatha Jackson.....	Clerk-stenographer.	Colored.	1,620

You will note that it consists of two Negroes and one white. Just how they came to select these particular individuals to preside over the destiny of the white businessmen of the great State of Missouri I cannot understand.

REGIONAL OFFICE, DALLAS, TEX.

The members of the regional office at Dallas are as follows:

Regional office, Dallas

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Castenada, Carlos.....	Regional director.	White.	\$4,600
(Vacancy).....	Fair-practice examiner.	.....	3,200
Gutleben, Willetta.....	Clerk-stenographer.	White.	1,800

You will note there is one vacancy. Last year that position was held by a Negro, namely, Roy V. Williams. The other two members, Carlos Castenada, the regional director, and Willetta Gutleben, seems to be in charge of the office at the present time. This is the regional office that attacked the Dallas News last year for carrying an advertisement for a Negro janitor. This fellow Castenada, director, held the same position he holds now. If this set-up is made permanent, then I presume the rest of the white American businessmen in Texas may

expect to be harassed just as the Dallas News was.

REGIONAL OFFICE, NEW ORLEANS

The regional office at New Orleans consists of the following members:

Regional office, New Orleans

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Ellinger, W. Don.....	Regional director.	White.	\$3,800
Morton, James H.....	Fair-practice examiner.	Colored.	3,200
Ronning, Evelyn.....	Clerk-stenographer.	White.	1,800

You will note that there are two whites and one Negro in this office. As the Negro is the Fair Practice examiner, just what the decent white people of Louisiana may expect at the hands of this outfit is something to contemplate.

REGIONAL OFFICE, SAN FRANCISCO

The San Francisco office consists of the following individuals:

Regional office, San Francisco

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Kingman, Harry L.....	Regional director.	White.	\$5,600
Rutledge, Edward.....	Fair-practice examiner.	do.....	4,600
Ross, Bernard.....	do.....	do.....	3,800
Seymour, Virginia.....	Administrative assistant.	do.....	2,000
Mazen, Jewel.....	Clerk-stenographer.	do.....	1,800

This is the only office we have found yet that consists entirely of white people. Just what the background of each one of them is I am unable to say.

LOS ANGELES REGIONAL OFFICE

The Los Angeles regional office consists of the following:

Los Angeles

Incumbent	Title	Race	Salary
Hunt, A. Bruce.....	Hearings examiner.	White.	\$5,600
Brown, Robert E.....	Fair-practice examiner.	Colored.	3,600
Lopez, Ignacio.....	do.....	White.	3,800
Vetter, Vera G.....	Clerk-stenographer.	do.....	1,800
Lerna, Marie.....	do.....	do.....	1,620

Mr. President, from the tabulation of this set-up we find that there are 115 employees in this organization, covering the whole Nation, and of that number 66 are Negroes. There are two American-Japanese, about 12 or 15 Jewish people, and the rest are gentiles.

In the United States there are 12,800,000 Negroes out of a population of 138,000,000. There are approximately, in round numbers, 5,000,000 Jewish people out of a population of 138,000,000. Here is an organization set up to see that there is no discrimination of any sort or kind anywhere in the United States, and we find this man, Malcolm Ross, when he gathers his brood together, notwithstanding the fact that there are 10 white people to every Negro in the United States and 20 gentiles to every Jew in the United States, placing 66 Negroes, about 12 or 15 Jews, and even going over and getting a couple of Japs. That is

the organization to which we are asked to give \$446,000, to pursue its activities throughout this country.

They say they have no power—and here is the testimony of Ross—except to conciliate, and to report in extreme cases to the President, and then by the process of sanctions they propose to punish those who will not observe their good wishes in hiring and firing their employees.

They are conciliators. In other words, they are the "sugar boys" of the New Deal. They are the "lollypop" boys going around pacifying everybody who is dissatisfied because he could not get a job. Do Senators propose that we spend \$446,000 of the people's money for 66 Negroes, 12 Jews, a few gentiles, and two Japs, just to be "lollypops" for this country, "sugar boys" going around pacifying? They admit that.

Are they doing any good? No; they are not doing any good. Of course, when brother Ross and his aides come before the committee they paint a wonderful picture of the service they render, but as a matter of fact, they have created more friction, they have brought about more dissatisfaction in this country, than the good they have done, and there is no excuse for the organization.

Moreover, it is not right for the Congress to pass a Federal law covering all the 48 States when some of the States have seen fit to pass laws of their own making, because we cannot have a conflict of jurisdiction. Certainly we do not want that.

I think the thing for us to do is to proceed at once to liquidate and close out this organization, to take an inventory and get rid of this FEPC as a part of the Federal set-up, an agency of the Government, and let the States which want and think they need this kind of legislation pass their own State laws. It is a State matter. Most certainly we could not afford to impose this kind of law on the State of New Jersey or the State of New York, which pass their own laws. That would result in a serious situation. I do not see what those engaged in business would do.

People should get it out of their systems that this is a matter of southern opposition to the bill. The business people of this Nation from Maine to San Francisco, from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, are opposed to the proposed Federal legislation. They do not want it. They see the harm it would bring about, and we in the South know what would happen. It would mean no end of trouble and no end of friction.

I am a friend of the Negro, but instead of this being the way to help the poor Negro, those who are sponsoring this proposal are fixing to do him more harm than good. The sensible Negroes of this Nation do not want this kind of legislation, because they know what the result would be.

Let me read another letter from Georgia:

I have just read your reply to the Atlanta group who foolishly wrote you in the interest of the FEPC and you turned them up just right.

I am completing a book that I hope to have published. Is the Negro the South's Problem? and I am anxious for all the information that I can get on FEPC.

Would it be asking too much if I request an exposition of you of the facts and possibilities of this bill—what it could lead to?

All I have to do, Mr. President, is to wait until this fight is over, and send him a copy of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, which will answer his letter and I think will satisfy him. Before we get through I believe we shall have developed all the facts in the case.

Here is a post card from Atlanta, from a good, old white gentleman who writes:

Please pardon card, but I have nothing else today, and wish to hasten to tell you how we all rejoice at your declaration in the Senate yesterday. That is the opinion of the better classes, but we, alas, are in the hopeless minority—so much so, that there will be trouble here soon. The Negro has been spoliied by Eleanor clubs, and we are suffering from the taint. The names you mentioned are Reds, Jews, and fanatics.

Your utterance is hailed with thanksgiving, for Atlantans seem to be asleep, at least many of them. We are in hands of huckstering politicians, and never was there such crimes among delinquents as now. Manners and morals have reached their 7th degree and anything you say may begin a crusade for the rights of people.

We are all listening to you. Go ahead. Wishing you every success in your missionary work and with heartfelt gratitude.

That is what I am trying to do, Mr. President. I am trying to perform missionary work today. I am trying to persuade my colleagues not to push this appropriation at this time.

I read from another letter from Atlanta, Ga.:

Let me be one person from Atlanta to congratulate you on your stand to "leave nothing undone this side of heaven or hell to defeat this damnable legislative scheme," referring, of course, to the legislation to create a permanent FEPC. We southerners must stand together for States' rights and against further usurpation of power, constitutionally delegated to the individual States, by the Federal Government. The Negro problem is our own and we know how to handle it. Enough has already been said and done in recent years to build up class hatred between the whites and blacks without having this vicious act forced upon us.

May you and our other representatives of the South stand firmly together in defeating the passage of a permanent FEPC.

For your information I might add that I am a southern Democrat.

Here is another letter from Atlanta, Ga.:

The 800 who signed a petition urging Congress to create a permanent Fair Employment Practice Act do not represent the masses of four or more millions of Georgians. I am insisting on your continuing your fight against this proposed pernicious legislation.

The "800" do not represent the rank and file of Georgia; they do not even represent the businessmen of this State; they do not represent the rank and file of the various posts of the American Legion of this State; nor the Disabled War Veterans, nor any other patriotic organization. These men should talk to the "man of the streets" if they wish to learn the truth.

Even date, one of my neighbors and a personal friend and a businessman, became so mad when we talked about the "800" and what they were stirring up that he declared he did not wish to discuss it as the subject makes him become "too hot in the collar."

I'll tell you what they are doing—they are breeding great trouble between the whites and blacks in the South; we know the Negro and are his friends, but we shall not bow down to the unrest that such as these "800" are brewing. If they haven't enough judgment to let well enough alone, there are multi-thousands right here in Fulton who have kept this a white man's country, and we intend to keep it thus.

Today we are having much trouble with Negroes as servants; they demand much more than they are worth; they are trifling, untrustworthy, undependable; lay off their jobs; expect one to carry them to and from their homes in cars; are dishonest, wasteful, immoral, and all this fuss by such as the "800" and others of their ilk in this county is engendering trouble between the races.

Ralph Magill of the Atlanta Constitution is eternally harping on this subject. That "race creed", etc., stuff that he publishes assists greatly in creating false ideas in the heads of the "niggers" and will result in more trouble in the South than anything since the days of reconstruction if the propaganda is not curbed.

Newspapers and magazines do not voice the opinion of the masses—not today. We are not living in days when we had a Henry Grady, Henry Watterson, a Horace Greely, a Charles Dana, a Charles Pendleton, a Tom Loyless, a Colonel Estill; these men were leaders and the people followed, but the people do not follow the press any more.

Keep up the fight.

Sincerely yours.

That letter was not written to me but was sent to me. It was written to the junior Senator from Georgia [Mr. Russell], and I have read it for the information of the Senate.

I read another letter from Georgia:

We Georgia "crackers," common folks, are backing you with all our might in the great fight you and your colleagues in the House and Senate are making to save the whites of the United States from annihilation, degradation, and Negro rule.

I am taking the liberty of sending you a little booklet which I hurriedly wrote, if you have time to read it, just to see how some of us feel, and see that some of us are helping to stay the knife thrust. I have gratuitously sent these booklets all over Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and hundreds to the Negro organizations in New York, Pennsylvania, and Chicago. Our common folks can understand what I have written, and I have received approval, and many comments from all southern people. Some favorable comments from prominent people North. I am preparing another booklet which is more interesting and pointed, and containing much more criticism than this one.

This FEPC bill seems to be the great political pie for the Negro. If it ever becomes a law the southern white man may as well admit his defeat and acknowledge the Negro and the Communists and Jews as the masters of destiny of America.

The southern daily papers have been strangely silent during the progress of this controversy over this measure, while northern advocates have turned heaven and earth to secure its passage.

All Negro organizations and religious fanatics have appeared before committee hearings advocating its passage. Now, to my surprise, southern (Georgia men) white men, and Negroes are actively engaged in advocating its passage. Even while they know and realize its dire effect on future generations of America.

I will put my shoulder to the wheel and do what I can to help save America although I am 80 years old I still have some life and Confederate white blood left to shed for our ancestors.

I am starting a petition against its passage, and am writing an article for publication asking every town and city in Georgia to prepare petitions against the measure so that they may be sent to you or other Senators opposing it.

My booklet is no biological study, it's a plain statement written so the common citizen can understand what I have written.

I am with high regards.

The letter is signed "Jno. R. Irwin." He is 80 years old.

I have another letter from Oxford, Ga., as follows:

I notice in the press that some people are criticising your stand on FEPC. I am not competent to judge this bill; however, I am inclined to think you are right.

My object in writing this note to you is to express my appreciation to you for your support of President Roosevelt's war measures. It is my impression that you supported most, if not all, of them. Your service to the Nation and the world in taking this stand far outweighs the effect of all the mistakes you have ever made—I assume that you have made many because you are a human being.

I want the Senator from New Mexico to notice the full content of this letter before he makes his note.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Will the Senator give me the name of the writer?

Mr. BILBO. I am not permitted to give the name. The letter is from Oxford, Ga. The writer appreciates the fact that I was a supporter of President Roosevelt's measures; and I have been. But I have just finished assuring the Senate that the FEPC was the result of intimidation by 200,000 Negroes who expected to march on Washington. By the way, the other day the Negroes said in a statement that they were getting ready to do so again, because they have learned the advantage and the virtue of force, and they want to march on Washington. I should like to be appointed as a member of the reception committee when they come.

I wish to read another letter from Georgia:

AUGUSTA, GA., June 22, 1945.

Senator THEODORE BILBO,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: I wish to express to you my personal thanks the way you voted upon that special bill that was trying to get by in the Senate—FEPC—a few days past. I am sure with such men as you from the deep South, no such bill will ever pass. Someone started the poll-tax bill and see what happened to that, though I do trust and pray that there will always be enough real southern gentlemen in office to take care of what we of the real South have always been use to. I wish to thank you, and add that I do believe this is my first letter I have ever wrote to a Senator or Congressman thanking them for fighting for or against a bill. I feel like you really need a pat on the back more than a letter.

I am enclosing one of my old cards you can destroy it or send back if you wish. Its only to show you my standing. I am quite sure none of the ones who signed that petition ever have had the real pleasure of being a member in such.

Best of luck to you always.

I am, most sincerely,

P. S.—I am an executive committeeman, white, democratic, Richmond County, primary committeeman, Augusta, Ga.

Here is another letter from Atlanta, Ga.:

ATLANTA, GA., June 22, 1945.

The Honorable THEODORE BILBO,

United States Senator from Mississippi,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Unfortunately your indictment of the people of Atlanta is true, as it applies to a certain percentage of them. Atlanta's population consists of 45 percent Negroes, 25 percent white carpetbaggers, Jews, etc., and 30 percent of southern white people from Georgia and many Southern States. The 30-percent minority has to bear the blame for the acts of the others.

Please allow me to say that you have the admiration and complete support of this 30 percent in your efforts to defeat this infamous FEPC bill, and we sincerely hope you will stick with your program so well expressed in the last paragraph of your article attached. We do not believe that the sentiment of this 70-percent mixture in Atlanta is representative of Georgia.

Please try to defeat this FEPC bill by every means in your power.

Sincerely yours.

Here is still another letter from Atlanta, Ga.:

I have been reading with a great deal of interest and satisfaction your statements about the FEPC. Especially was I delighted with the swing you took at the Atlanta petition gotten up by black and white preachers here in Atlanta and signed by niggers and our lowest white trash. I do not wonder sometimes at our citizenry turning away from Christianity, as preached by some of our lazy, too-no-account-to-work ginks calling themselves preachers.

He must be referring to Gerald K. Smith. He continues:

We here in Georgia are being fed a lot of bloocey by the two biggest newspapers in the State. They have them a hand-picked Governor, and they are lining up the Negro voters in order to reelect him. As you will notice from enclosed clipping, I am also enclosing a clipping involving a big shot Army Negro (no relation of mine, I assure you).

If these FEPC troublemakers were having our country's best interest at heart in times like these they would be lending their feeble-minded efforts toward ending a war instead of laying the foundations for one here at home. My observance is that the educated nigger breeds trouble. The ignorant ones are the only ones to be trusted, so I say, keep them ignorant.

More power to you, Senator Bilbo, is my heartfelt wish. I do wish I could vote for you for anything. Your stand in this FEPC marks you as a southern gentleman, statesman, and hero. I read the Pittsburgh and Detroit Negro dailies, and get the greatest kick in the world out of their antics against you and Honorable Talmadge. I'm so sorry Truman has picked up the F. D. R. cross of such good will toward the black race, but can't be helped.

Again I say, more power to you, and the best wishes in the world toward and to ye. Fight on and on and on. Southern "yes" newspapers, along with the nigger press will try to crucify you, but stick in there with them is my 3 cents worth of advice and encouragement.

Yours truly.

Here is another letter from Georgia:

Senator THEODORE G. BILBO,

Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I was very much interested in your remarks before the Senate, contained in the June 20 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. As a native Georgian, I want you to

know that the petition received does not represent the feelings of the real Georgians and with the exception of one or two names the rest is of unknown denomination, probably sidewalk nobodies. You will recall when the iniquitous poll-tax legislation was in discussion a year or so ago, I wrote you my feelings in the matter and expressed my appreciation of our attitude at that time. I wish to repeat this and tell you that we real Georgians are proud of the position you have taken in regard to the so-called FEPC legislation. Will you kindly accept my sincere congratulations on your attitude in the matter. With expression of my highest personal esteem, believe me, I am.

Here is another letter from Georgia:

Honorable Senator BILBO,

United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR BILBO: Have just finished reading your article in the Atlanta Journal in regard to the FEPC. We are grateful to you on your stand in the matter. When I refer to "we," I have the authority to speak for 30,000 tax-paying voters who have, and now are, working under me in construction engineering. These men are from various States. Atlanta does have a few off-brands of American citizens, but they are like M. Ashby Jones, a cheap minister from the Gospel. Reds, Blacks, and Greens are a credit to such people. Now, this statement is no secret. Ashby Jones well knows that I am able and glad to back up my statement. I am sorry that we have people who will advocate revolution, riots, and bloodshed. They should be chased out of a peace-loving nation. Mr. Jones says he wants the FEPC because the late President Roosevelt asked for it and that President Truman wants it. They are just human and are subject to mistakes, and have made plenty.

Though we believe we have enough American blood in the Senate and Congress to halt and correct such mistakes, any Senator or House Member who supports such un-American act we are prepared to campaign for his defeat in his own State when he is up for reelection.

Any time we may be of value, please feel free to call on me.

Yours truly.

Here is a very interesting letter from the city of Washington:

JUNE 25, 1945.

Senator THEODORE BILBO,

Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR BILBO: The great silent majority of the people, both North and South, do not wish Mrs. NORTON and the National Association for the Advancement of the Negro Race to force them to work beside a Negro. An overwhelming silent majority of industry resent the National Association for the Advancement of the Negro Race attempting to force them to hire Negroes.

This antiwhite scheme for getting black votes is dishonest even in its name. It is not fair employment practice when it is forced employment practice and those of us who have served our country in two wars against German nazism will continue to serve by fighting against this white-hating minority of Negro nazism. Forced employment in a free democracy must go.

Very truly yours.

In other words, if a man is forced to employ someone he does not want or need or cannot use, it is idle to talk about this being a free country. When the time comes when the Government undertakes to run a man's private business by telling him that he has to hire this man or that man and this woman

or that woman and put them in his office or in his place of business, to work with people he has willingly employed, and put such persons there against the will of the other employees and against their protests and against their wishes, there will be no freedom left. You need not talk to me about the great democracy and freedom of America and the American way of life when you try to cram this kind of legislation down the throats of the American people.

Here is a letter from New York:

Senator THEODORE G. BILBO,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I'm just a southern boy on what will probably be a short business visit in the north—to New York City. Due to overcrowded conditions I have been living on the westside where New York has made such an "ideal" solution to the race problem.

Of course, that is irony. I read further:

My purpose in writing is to commend your stand on the race issue and to urge that you continue to insist on the South solving the problem as a southern problem and not as some northern social workers think the South should solve its problems.

The situation here is far from ideal. I saw a white man pushed around and beaten by several Negro bus riders recently—and no person dared come to his defense. Harlem—glamorous Harlem—is so lawless that my guide on a drive through it one Sunday said, "Be careful how you drive, there's many cases where a white man has had his car completely wrecked by Negro gangs here after being involved in a small accident." The crowded condition would suggest some friction, but my observation has been that the Negroes always consider the words "liberty," "rights," and "license" as synonyms.

The operation of the antidiscrimination law is that many apartment building owners hesitate to put out signs announcing vacancies because they cannot refuse to rent to Negroes, even in the best sections if a Negro can pay the rent.

So, please insist on the South's rights to solve its own problems—a situation in the South like that in New York City would be intolerable with our large concentrations of Negroes. Do not disclose my name to anyone, please. One should not be in New York unless he can see the situation here is ideal as regards the race question.

Yours very truly,

Here is a letter from Georgia:

It is a pity we haven't a few more Americans like yourself. I want to congratulate you on your letter to that May.

That is the Georgia petition.
I read further from the letter:

The X are trying to get control of our country, and I can't understand how loyal Americans can let them pull the wool over their eyes as they are trying to do with their dollars. God help the South if the men in politics don't get this mess we are in straightened out soon. There's going to be bloodshed, and plenty of it, right in this county, which I have always loved.

I wish Senator Maybank would join with you in this fight for the right to keep our self-respect.

You know who is back of all this. They are not even putting their money in war bonds, now that Germany has folded up. They have other unfinished business in this country now. Thousands of Americans think as I do, but dare not express themselves. That FEPC is an insult to an American. Why should we turn our country over to—and actually the people are afraid to come out as you did and say a word.

Mr. President, it is useless to talk to me about a free country if this kind of legislation is to be passed. If I have a store and have 6 people working for me, and if my store is located in a white community, where I have a select trade, if I have a vacancy and 1 of the 66 Negroes of the Malcolm Ross outfit comes to my office and asks, "Have you a vacancy in your store?" and I reply "Yes," and then I am asked, "Do you have any Negroes clerking for you?" and I reply "No," and then I am told, "Well, I have a Negro girl, or a Negro boy, I want you to hire. You must hire him. If you do not hire him, I will report you and I will punish you." As the operator of that store, I know that my clientele do not want to patronize a store which uses Negro clerks. They will not buy goods from a Negro clerk. Yet I will be forced to employ someone who will destroy my business.

Mr. President, in the city of Washington arrangements have been made with Gallinger Hospital to have doctors from George Washington University Hospital and other institutions in this city go there and treat patients. They do a great deal of work at Gallinger Hospital, and they are not being paid anything for it. Some of the best medical talent in the city is doing that kind of work. Do you know, Mr. President, that the crazy FEPC bunch demands that the doors of Gallinger Hospital be thrown wide open to Negro doctors, and that Negro doctors be allowed to engage in that practice? Georgetown University Hospital and other institutions in this city have given notice that if that is done their doctors will not continue with the work; and the patients at Gallinger Hospital, both whites and Negroes, say they do not want to have Negro doctors there. But that is the kind of thing the FEPC is doing, and that is the way it is sticking its nose into other people's business.

And then, Mr. President, we have the bill which the gentlewoman from New Jersey [Mrs. NORTON] has introduced in the House. God knows what we can do with that.

Here is another letter from Georgia:

JUNE 24, 1945.

HON. THEODORE G. BILBO,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: I admire the stand you are putting up to defeat the uncalled for and I might say the very dangerous FEPC bill or act and just can't refrain from writing you and letting you know that there are thousands of Georgians who share the same belief.

The people everywhere to whom I have talked are against this infamous act and it should not have been instituted in the first place and I now pledge that I will do all I can against it and have already contacted my Senators and Representatives in Georgia to do all to delay action and kill it forever.

This means the renewing of the race question in my opinion and will only lead to trouble if allowed to be written on the statute books of the United States of America.

I join you and other fellow Americans in the fight and I don't believe you will let this act be put on the records of our great American government. May you be successful and, may our great God of all not let this become a law. Yours for a better USA.

Your admirer and friend.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for a moment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. TUNNELL in the chair). Does the Senator from Mississippi yield to the Senator from New Mexico?

Mr. BILBO. I do not yield yet; I will let the Senator loose after a while.

Here is another letter from Georgia:

JUNE 24, 1945.

HON. THEODORE BILBO,
United States Senator from Mississippi,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I read an Associated Press article in the June 22 issue of the Atlanta Constitution. It mentions Atlanta is a center of "offbrands of American citizenship." You are more than right. There are more scalawags in Atlanta today than there was in the entire South from 1865 to 1875, by a ratio of approximately 10 to 1. It would be difficult to determine the number of Rosenwalders, Communists, CIO-gangsters, scalawags, et al., who infest this city.

That is the crowd Mrs. Roosevelt was bragging about in My Day.

I have been here since 1907, and still camping out, and have never called the place home. It is because I am from Augusta, Ga., and it will always be home to me. We have some southern people there like you have in heavenly Mississippi.

The Atlanta newspapers have become nothing much more than propaganda sheets. The Atlanta Constitution is in the good graces of the Rosenwald fund outfit, and the Atlanta Journal that died when Jack Cohen died is influenced by the "rotten dealers" who call themselves "New Dealers", also the CIO, et al.

I should have mentioned we have plenty of "liberals" or so-called progressives, who are nothing short of being weak-kneed Communists who have not the courage to say they are Communists.

To sum it all up they have practically one and the same object, that is to bring about social recognition of the "nigger", and if that came about it would be natural for miscegenation to follow, and we would then become "brown America", which in the final analysis would be against all laws of God and decency—a Nation in complete decay. What we need, a million more like Senator Bilbo, and may God help you to win this fight against the Unfair Employment Practice Committee bill. More power to you and God bless you for all time.

Yours very truly,

I hope the prayer will be answered.

Mr. President, here is another letter from Georgia:

DEAR SENATOR: I wish to thank you for blasting the little group of renegade whites and "niggers" (FEPC) up in Atlanta. Being an outsider you just don't know how strong the vicious Yankee influences are in that town. Both the papers published there read like they were owned by "niggers."

But, Senator, why is it we can't find a man in the American Congress who has the moral courage, or as it is called out in the corn fields, "guts," to stand up and put a finger on the chief apostles of this proposed degradation? Everybody knows that F. D. R. was the daddy of this villainy. Truman being nothing at heart but a plain stooge is the foster parent of this treachery. Is it because Truman is a Democrat that you will not speak out? Or that F. D. R. was one? Well, if Franklin Roosevelt was a Democrat then I am a "nigger" washwoman. I hope later on you will have the courage to speak out and call a spade a spade. If we have any hope of preserving the white race as it is today it lies in Eugene Talmadge, Senator Lee O'Daniel, and men like yourself. If such men shirk

their duty we might as well give up. If we could get our southern leaders to put Truman and the Roosevelts in their place we would not have so much trouble with the little scum like that up in Atlanta.

With many good wishes for your continued success in Washington, I am,
Very sincerely yours.

The writer of that letter speaks his mind. He has his preferences. I do not agree with him in what he has said about President Truman.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BILBO. The Senator is on the wrong side of the Chamber.

Mr. TOBEY. I am willing to be for a moment. Will the Senator yield to me for a question?

Mr. BILBO. Yes.

Mr. TOBEY. Does the speech of the Senator from Mississippi constitute what we call a filibuster?

Mr. BILBO. Oh, no. As yet, I do not have anything to filibuster about.

Mr. TOBEY. Very well.

Mr. BILBO. A filibuster may not take place until after a motion has been made to suspend the rule. I am now merely talking. [Laughter.]

Here is a letter from a soldier boy:

DEAR SENATOR BILBO: Although not a constituent of your State, I want to thank you for your proposed opposition to the FEPC.

The FEPC is definitely a waste of the people's money as far as I'm concerned. Furthermore, I can see nothing practical in such an idea. It is certainly not democracy when some "peckerwood" with a brief case of red tape under each arm can go into a man's business and tell him how many of this race and that race he must hire.

Give them "extended explanation" from now on if necessary.

Respectfully yours.

The writer of the letter does not say "filibuster"; he says "extended explanation."

Mr. President, I will now read what a certain prominent Negro educator has to say with regard to this matter. He is Floyd Brown, president, Fargo Agricultural School, Fargo, Ark.; and I read from a letter which he wrote to the Arkansas Democrat at Little Rock. His letter is as follows:

As so much is being said within and without about the race problem in the South, and as I was born and reared in the South, and being a colored man, I feel justified in expressing my views about the race problem as I see it.

In my travels in Arkansas and the South, I am convinced that the race problem is not so acute as many would have it.

Mr. President, the problem may not be very acute at the present time, but it will become so if there shall be enacted the damn-fool legislation which is now being proposed.

I continue reading from the letter:

I am opposed to anyone, colored or white, of North or South, at all times exposing the bad side of and neglecting to say anything about the brighter side of race relationship. I do not believe the welfare of the two races should be left in the hands of the radicals.

After all is said and done, until the southern white people and the southern Negro people seek to adjust their misunderstandings and solve their own problems, our relationship will not be what it should be. I do not believe people living two or three thousand miles away are in a position to solve local problems as we ourselves are.

Mr. President, this is a Negro professor, an educated leader of the South, who is speaking. Let me read again what he has said:

I do not believe people living two or three thousand miles away are in a position to solve local problems as we ourselves are.

Yet, Mr. President, we find Members of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives, who are a thousand miles removed from where the whites and blacks are forced to live together. The Members of Congress to whom I have referred do not have to cope with the race problem in their own States, counties, or communities. However, they try to tell us in the South what we must do and what we must not do. It would seem that we do not know anything on earth about the problems with which we are confronted.

I continue reading from the letter:

Whether we believe, or whether we like it, statistics will prove that the colored people of the South own more property, operate more business, own more farms, and have built more institutions than those of any section of the United States.

Let us all say more about the better and more substantial contributions that both of us have contributed to our beloved South and it will do much to help solve our race problem.

As I have already said, that letter is from Floyd Brown, president, Fargo Agricultural School, Fargo, Ark., and was written to the Arkansas Democrat at Little Rock. Floyd Brown is a very sensible and splendid Negro leader.

Here is an encouraging piece of news from the Washington Post of June 26, 1945:

The fight over continuing the Fair Employment Practice Committee hit new intensity yesterday with the agency's head saying it may continue operating on a volunteer basis even if Congress gives it no money.

Mr. President, think of the audacity of Malcolm Ross, with his employees numbering approximately 115—66 Negroes, 12 Jews, and 2 Japs, as well as a few gentiles—saying that he does not give a rap whether we make an appropriation for him or not, but that he will continue to operate regardless. In other words, he is deriving so much kick, so much pleasure, and so much satisfaction out of his work that he is willing to continue with his program of harassing the American businessman, and is willing to remain on the job and function for nothing. If he feels that way about it, we should let him do his work for nothing.

I continue reading from the newspaper article:

Chairman Malcolm Ross said the FEPC may go ahead regardless, and another member, a Negro, reported plans for a demonstration "more dramatic than a march on Washington."

Logan has said in his book that the Negro has learned the technique of force. It was that force behind the suggestion that 200,000 Negroes would march into Washington that led the President to sign the Executive order which brought the FEPC into existence.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BILBO. I yield.

Mr. LANGER. Does the Senator see anything wrong in the march of the soldiers a few years ago into Washington when they wanted a bonus, and they were starving and needed help?

Mr. BILBO. That was quite different.

Mr. LANGER. I should like to have the Senator state the difference.

Mr. BILBO. Well, Mr. President, it would not do the Senator any good if I were to show him the difference. If a man who has been to Columbia University, as the Senator has been, cannot differentiate and evaluate the difference between a group of minority Negroes marching out of New York under the leadership of men like A. Philip Randolph and others, and the American soldier marching to Washington after he had helped fight for his flag, and asking for a bonus and other privileges, the Senator will be unable to see the difference, and I would waste my time in trying to educate him. [Laughter.]

I continue reading from the article:

This member, Milton P. Webster, international president of the AFL Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, told a news conference he couldn't disclose the nature of the demonstration now, but "we are not going to take it lying down."

In other words, they are bluffing; they are trying to intimidate; they are trying to bulldoze, as they did the President to get the damned thing signed. That is what they are trying to do. "Oh, we are going to do something; we are going to do something awful. It is going to be more awful than 200,000 Negroes marching down on Washington from New York and Philadelphia at one time. I think it is about time we were having a demonstration."

I had two or three of them in my office yesterday morning. They said they wanted to talk to me about a filibuster; that I had no right to filibuster, that it was not the thing to do. They said they wanted to talk to me about it. They talked to my secretary. They told him, "If we do not get to see the Senator, and if we cannot stop him, he will be stopped by an act of God." Trying to threaten me or bluff me with the righteous indignation of God. That is all right; I am willing to take my medicine so long as God wants to punish me for filibustering, but I do not want some peckerwood who has nothing to do with God messing around with it.

He referred to slow action on legislation for a permanent FEPC. The House Appropriation Committee approved yesterday a \$125,000 fund earmarked for liquidation of the agency in the 3 months after July 1.

Senators understand what happened. It went to the Rules Committee, and was not given a rule, in other words the House committee was willing to put up \$125,000 to liquidate this piece of communistic conception and foolishness, but the Rules Committee was not willing to spend 5 cents on it, and it is not worth that much.

Southerners in Congress, meanwhile, girded for a filibuster to talk to death any attempt to give FEPC a congressional appropriation.

Further on the article recites:

Boris Shishkin, FEPC member and AFL economist, said the Army has discovered

widespread use by the Japanese of racial prejudices in this country in an attempt to persuade Asiatic peoples that this is a white man's war.

Ross said regardless of whether Congress votes FEPC any money the Committee will hold its regular meeting July 7 and decide then on its future. He said that the Committee, without funds, could not operate generally in industry but could continue to insist on nondiscrimination by government and contractors doing business with the Government.

Webster said the move to abolish FEPC leaves Negroes feeling "like we're being double-crossed—that this thing called democracy doesn't mean us at all."

"There probably will be the greatest upsurge of Negro opinion in history if the Committee (FEPC) is knocked down," he declared.

Bulldozing again, intimidating, threatening that, if this or that is not done as they want it done, they are going to do so and so, and so and so.

In New York, Representative ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, Democrat, New York, accused the House of "double dealing" in refusing to pass legislation providing for FEPC.

"I charge that there has been double dealing on both sides of the aisle as regards FEPC," he said in an address prepared for the annual Negro Freedom Rally in Madison Square Garden.

"I further charge that if the Republican Party had supported the FEPC the same as it supported the abolition of the poll tax, legislation today would be enacted on the FEPC."

In other words, the Negroes, as represented by their spokesmen, their leaders, are not satisfied with either the Democrats or the Republicans. We cannot do enough to satisfy them, and we do not know today what they will do tomorrow. The politicians who are expecting to control the Negro vote can just put it in their pipes and smoke it that if they do control it they are going to give the Negroes their houses and homes because they want more and more and more, and then more.

I just received through the mail yesterday a very interesting little booklet on the relationship of the Negroes and the whites. I think that question is certainly pertinent and germane in the discussion of this proposed legislation, because behind the whole scheme is the dream of the colored intelligentsia to break down what is known as the color line which exists both in the North and in the South, in the East and in the West, and force an intimacy and an association between the two races in business. In other words, if they can force a colored girl into a white man's office to be his secretary, they are making progress. If they can force a Negro into a machine shop where white women are working and put him in between two white women working on a machine or at a desk, they are making progress. That is what they call progress. The underlying scheme of the FEPC is to compel men and women of this country who have some regard for racial integrity, who believe in segregation, and who do not believe in social equality, to accept Negroes and put them in together with the whites and let them work side by side whether one likes their odor or not, to get them on the job and work together. Breaking down the line is what is behind it;

and if, through this instrumentality, they can force association and force connection then they are making progress. Old Dr. DuBois says in the book that he has just printed, "we have got to have the association, we have got to have the contact, we have got to bring them together," and he says the Charter at San Francisco is a failure, it is not going to get anywhere, because it does not declare in favor of the participation of the colonials of Great Britain, Russia, France, and the United States, and it is not going to take care of the cases of discrimination within the territorial limits of the smaller countries of the United Nations. That is why he says that the third world war is in the offing, and will come in a very short while, and the effort at world peace is going to be a failure, because it is not going to satisfy the colored people of America, and so war is coming. He not only prophesies it, but he wants it. One who reads his book will find that to be so. He may have been at San Francisco trying to help write the Charter of peace and democracy, because it is an inherent instinct in the average Negro in this country to want to put his bill into everything; he wants to go everywhere.

I had an experience with the Negroes of Washington as chairman of the Committee on the District of Columbia. They called on me. I said, "Stop your fooling around, put your cards on the table. What do you want? How far do you want to go?" They spilled the beans. They said, "We want to use your hotels, we want to use your barber shops, we want to use your restaurants, your cafes, your swimming pools, your schools. We want complete mixing, social equality." And nothing short of that will satisfy them. If one will take the book to which I have been calling attention, What the Negro Wants, and what these 18 contributors representing outstanding Negroes of the United States say, it will be found that every one of them wants the same thing, and the FEPC is one of the instruments or means they are trying to use to break down the line, as a kind of entering wedge. In other words, they are going to force the white people.

One of the Representatives in Congress—I am not permitted to give his name, but he is a Representative—went to one of these hybrid, mongrel organizations in Washington and said, "Send me a stenographer." When she came she darkened the door. She was as black as the ace of spades. He did not take her. That is what they want.

The Civil Service Commission, with its contamination and its lack of fairness and square dealing between the white race and the black race, has even done away with the requirement that every applicant should furnish a photograph on his application blank. So one cannot tell whether an applicant is black or white. That was another great victory for the Negro.

The politicians, knowing that there are a thousand, or five thousand, or twenty thousand, or a hundred thousand votes of colored people in his State or in his district is shaking in his boots all the time, afraid of anything and everything the Negro does or says, and they have

not the manhood to stand up and say, "No; that is not the right thing, not the proper thing, not the patriotic thing, not the best for the country, not the best for you." They will not say that, because they are afraid they will lose votes.

I was talking to one of these Negro-loving politicians in the Congress a few days ago and I said, "What in the hell are you going to do when I get through sending the Negroes to West Africa? You will not have anybody to 'politic' with. There will not be anybody to vote for you. You will be out of business." And that is true.

I wish to call attention to another matter. I quote from The Racial Problem Discussed. Let Us Keep the United States White, by John R. Irvin, Centerville, Ga.:

Is the United States soon to become a hybridized Nation through governmental legislation, controlling the social and economic life of the citizen?

That is the purpose. That is what we are discussing. This is an attempt through legislative enactment to break down the color line in order to aid the day of miscegenation and mongrelization between the races.

That day is coming if we do not do something about it, because every student of history knows that the records of 30,000 years of known history show that whenever the white man and the black man have tried to live side by side, in the end miscegenation and mongrelization and hybridization take place, both the white race and the black race are destroyed, and nothing is left but a yellow race. That was the doctrine old Dr. Boas taught in Columbia University. He taught it to his students, and that damnable doctrine and poison has been scattered all over the United States through Columbia University and his teaching. Today he has students posing as teachers of ethnology and anthropology and trying to teach the American people that there is no difference between the white race and the black race, that they are the same, and had the same common origin.

At Howard University here in Washington there is a professor of anthropology teaching Negroes that the white race descended from the Negro race. And he proves his case! [Laughter.] He says that in the early days, when, through the processes of the years, the northern portion of Africa, which was covered with Negroes at the time, began to dry up and people had to leave that section of Africa as the great Sahara Desert was formed, the part of the Negro race which went north up into Europe became bleached out; that that is the origin of the white race, and that those who stayed south of the Sahara Desert are still black. He said he proved his case, because skeletons of African Negroes have been found buried in the northern part of Europe, which shows that the white man descended from the Negro race. The fool Negroes at Howard University believe that, and the very same folks who are catering to and coddling and fooling and messing around with the Negro in order to get his vote sometimes believe it also, I think. Sometimes I have seen and heard such expressions

and such things done that I am inclined to think they are a little bit kin to some of them. There might be a little mixture.

The chosen process to bring about what is desired is Federal legislation. As soon as they got Executive Order 8802, creating this damnable organization, what happened? They went down into all the departments in Washington, and tore out the partitions which separated the white dining rooms and cafeterias from the colored. Everything had been all right. They were segregated. One was good as the other, but they were separated. They tore out the partitions, they destroyed and tore out all the closets, and forced the white employees in the departments in Washington to eat with them and use the same toilet facilities. That is brotherly love. That is getting the program of social equality over by legislation. The most disgusting thing in Washington life is to see nice sweet girls from North Dakota being forced to use the same stools and toilets used by the Negroes who come from the slums of Washington, a large percentage of them affected by Negro diseases, as the records show.

Somehow some men have not any regard for their own race, no concern about their own blood. For the sake of political gain or political votes they would sacrifice their white blood and their white race—some of them.

The Negro is smart. He knows that in 12 States he holds the balance of power between the white Democrats and the White Republicans, and in Presidential election years there are enough votes in those States to elect a President. They know how to play the game, and they are going to elect a President who favors them. That explains the conduct of certain people in public life.

I read further from Mr. Irvin's book:

During the past decade magazines, newspapers, writers, professors, philanthropists, and fanatical reformers have flooded the country with discussions of racial relations, and with propaganda, teaching the public that there is no difference between the various races, and that they are all the same flesh and blood and equal in refinement, culture, accomplishments, and civilization, and are physically and mentally alike excepting in color and that intermarriage is unharmed.

The southern people are concerned over racial and social relations between the whites and the Negroes because the Negro population in the South is by far the largest bloc of farmers, and differ most in color, refinement, civilization and character. If social barriers are destroyed, and all segregation eliminated, social equality enforced by government edict and law so that schools, churches, hotels, restaurants, parks, recreation centers and picture shows, clubs, busses and Pullmans must be open to all persons of every creed, color, character, or station in life, then indeed is racial integrity a thing of the past, and the white people of the United States would be transferred into a hybrid yellow or brown nation within the next several generations.

That is not a wild statement, Mr. President. The history of 30,000 years shows that to be exactly what will happen.

Human experience teaches that social association and intimacies between people of

different races certainly will bring about, and lead to, intermarriage, even between those who differ in racial affinity, culture or color.

God saw fit to segregate and separate the different races by placing them in different lands. He located the white race in the middle northern hemisphere and placed the Negro in Africa, and the brown and yellow peoples in other spheres, as far as possible from each other. He divided them by color lines as well as by territorial lines so that each race would maintain its racial integrity.

Isolation and segregation, and racial purity and integrity appear to have been the divine plan and intent when He divided mankind by giving to them a distinct varied coloring. There are many misguided Christians and fanatics who think that God made a mistake when He made the black man, and now seek to bleach him by absorption, and by amalgamation.

And I may add—speaking of FEPC—by legislation.

Some of the Southern States have been criticized severely for the passing of laws segregating the whites and Negroes. Since God set the example why should southerners be so severely criticized for following His footsteps?

At this point let's quote a passage from a booklet being circulated in the South.

"Always different races moved about and intermarried. As far as we know there is no immutable law of nature which makes racial intermarriage harmful."

That is what all these Negro professors are teaching, believing, thinking, and dreaming about.

Here is clearly stated that marriage between whites, yellows, Japanese, or Negroes, or other races, is unharmed. Any student knows that there is not a hybrid nation of the present day, or of the past, which occupies a position of prominence, and excels in statesmanship and civilization.

Because when the two are mixed both are destroyed, and the product is a bad egg.

There may be no immutable law of nature against intermarriage between different races, but the only way to promote human progress is by maintaining racial purity. Hybrid nations and peoples in all parts of the world show less progress and are the least civilized in all social and civil accomplishments than nations which have maintained racial integrity. Notable examples may be seen in Egypt, Cuba, Haiti, Liberia, Mexico, north Africa, some Balkan states, and some South American countries. These have never established stable government or advanced civilization. Wherever is found a hybrid nation always you find it to be in a social degenerate condition, replete with revolutions and nothing more than a third- or fourth-rate power.

However, there are many individual half-breeds and hybrids, among men who inherit all the mental genius and good qualities of an ancestor; many instances of brilliant intellectual development in crosses, but when applied to a nation as a whole, most generally the crossing is deleterious and lowers the mental and physical standing of the original strain.

There never was a truer statement of facts than is announced by those words.

Again we quote from a professor at Columbia College:

The races of mankind are what the Bible says they are: "Brothers. In their bodies is the record of their brotherhood."

The physical make-up of every human being and their body formation is identical. So is the the body and physical make-up of animals of the same class. Every breed of dog, whether a setter, a pointer, a Newfoundland,

land, or pug, is physically alike. Who would breed a setter and a pug expecting an improved dog? Who would expect an improved colt from breeding a thoroughbred racer to a Texas pony? Who would expect to look for a better milk cow from the breeding of a whiteface to a scrub? Hybrid children and animals are usually inferior to either parent.

That is where God and nature take care of the situation, and the same rule applies.

In a family of brothers there are always superiors and inferiors, physically, mentally, and morally. "By your fruits shall ye be known." The superior brother can be determined by comparison. Which of them has contributed the greatest benefits to the world and mankind? He is the superior who has done most for humanity. By comparison then, we shall determine which of the races have dominated and elevated humanity. And thus demonstrate which are to be considered superior and which inferior.

The superior must be those who have succeeded in elevating and adding to man's happiness, enlightenment, and civilization.

Those whose influence and example and accomplishments have added nothing to civilization must be considered inferior.

When comparison is made, their rank can be demonstrated.

Shem, Ham, and Japheth were reputed to be the fathers of the three principal divisions of mankind—white, yellow, black.

I do not believe that.

From these three brothers have come all the different races and peoples that now inherit the earth. Through intermarriage there have developed many and various subdivisions in color and racial traits, and diversified habits and customs, which differentiate and make up a variety of many nationalities of the present day.

It is most surprising to me, Mr. President, to find intelligent people insisting that there is mental and cultural equality of the white race and the black race, of the white man and the black man. The white Caucasian race in the United States is a product in part of the culture and education and growth and development and training of three or four thousand years. In everyone of us is a part of that growth and culture and development throughout all these centuries.

When the Negro is taken from the wilds of Africa, behind him lies the history and the accomplishment and the culture and the education of Africa for 3,000 years, and what is it? A blank. Do Senators then expect the product of the growth and the evolution of three or four thousand years of the highest type of civilization to be on the same basis and of the same quality as this product which has only been exposed to civilization for two or three hundred years? Such an argument would be most absurd. It would not make good sense.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Mississippi yield for that purpose?

Mr. BILBO. I yield for that purpose.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The absence of a quorum has been suggested. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Alken	Bankhead	Bridges
Austin	Barkley	Briggs
Bailey	Bilbo	Brooks
Ball	Brewster	Buck

Burton	Hoey	Pepper
Bushfield	Johnson, Calif.	Radcliffe
Butler	Johnson, Colo.	Reed
Byrd	Johnston, S. C.	Revercomb
Capper	Kilgore	Robertson
Chandler	La Follette	Saltonstall
Chavez	Langer	Stewart
Connally	Lucas	Taft
Cordon	McClellan	Taylor
Donnell	McFarland	Thomas, Okla.
Downey	McKellar	Thomas, Utah
Eastland	McMahon	Tobey
Ellender	Mead	Tunnell
Ferguson	Millikin	Tydings
Fulbright	Mitchell	Vandenberg
George	Moore	Wagner
Gerry	Morse	Walsh
Green	Murdoch	Wheeler
Guffey	Murray	Wherry
Gurney	Myers	White
Hawkes	O'Daniel	Wiley
Hayden	O'Mahoney	Willis
Hill	Overton	Young

Mr. HILL. I announce that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS] is absent because of illness.

The Senator from Florida [Mr. ANDREWS] is necessarily absent.

The Senator from New Mexico [Mr. HATCH] and the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON] are absent on public business.

The Senator from South Carolina [Mr. MAYBANK] and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] are absent in Europe visiting battlefields.

The Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCARRAN] is absent as a member of the committee attending the funeral of the late Senator Scrugham.

Mr. WHERRY. The Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART] and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER] are absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HART] is absent because of the death of his son.

The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. SHIPSTEAD], and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. WILSON] are absent on official business.

The Senator from Idaho [Mr. THOMAS] is absent because of illness.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HOEY in the chair). Eighty-one Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, I repeat that I am not now attempting to filibuster. I have merely been elaborating on the faults, sins, inadequacies, viciousness, and foolishness of the FEPC, in the hope that I could convince my very good friend from New Mexico [Mr. CHAVEZ] that he ought not to make a motion to suspend the rule and inject this FEPC poison into a perfectly good appropriation bill carrying appropriations for the life of 16 war agencies. If he does so, he will do it with notice to him and to the world that opposition will be registered continuously in explanation of the amendment, to prevent the waste of \$446,000.

The great majority of the American people, through every means available to test out their will, have expressed their disapproval of this type and character of legislation. Why should the Congress listen to pressure groups which are trying, with ulterior motives, to obtain enactment of the legislation? It cannot result in good to the people. It cannot result in good to the relationship between the races in the United States. It

will most certainly interfere and hamper the orderly processes of commerce and business throughout the United States. Mr. President, why they would listen to and be influenced by these minority groups is beyond my ability to comprehend, for I can assure them that the sober, correct-thinking, straight-thinking element of both the Negroes and the Jews, who are alleged to be behind this legislation, do not favor it and do not want it.

Mr. President, it is not so much what is done to the business world or to the businessmen that hurts, but it is the influence of dread and fear which exists at all times in connection with the conduct of business. If such a law is passed the businessman will be in constant fear of violating some red-tape rule established or sponsored by cracked-brained persons who sometimes are in responsible positions.

When the quorum call was had a while ago, I had been reading to the Senate from a very able presentation of this very question, namely, the influence of race. I now read further from it:

In order to determine which nations and races are superior and which inferior, it will be necessary to compare each with the other, and ascertain which brought the greatest blessings and which contributed most to human civilization and which has been foremost in giving to mankind the greatest economic and social advancement.

The sons of Shem are supposed to be and constitute the white people of the world, and it is a fact that the white man has been first and foremost in promoting civilization. The descendants of Shem were white and are supposed to be the first to emerge from the savage cave age, and begin to grope in the darkness of the dim past for a higher and brighter light. God selected this race as the medium through whom He would make Himself known, and through whom He communicated with His people here on earth, and through whom a Saviour was born. They were the first to worship a true and a living God, and first to establish religion based on faith, hope, and a Supreme Creator.

They gave mankind the Bible and the laws of Moses, the Ten Commandments, and established laws of health and hygiene, and provided the rules of conduct which administered to man's health and welfare.

The white races produced Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the judges of Israel, Moses, Aaron, and the prophets. Through the white people came Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Constantine, and the popes of Rome, whose influence and attainments saved civilization through the Dark Ages.

They were the first to build homes and great cities, parthenons, coliseums and monuments, amphitheatres and cathedrals. They had written language which encouraged learning, and the making of books; they practiced the arts and sciences with which mankind is now blessed. They built ships and became the greatest navigators of the sea; discovered new continents and distant islands, and to all of them they brought the blessings of their discoveries. They have dominated all other people of the world, the yellows and the blacks, and now hold protectorates and concessions over seven-eighths of the population of the earth. They were the first to prohibit slavery and to bring freedom to the ordinary man.

The foregoing contains but a brief sketch of the contributions and service which the white man has rendered and brought to the world. A great and a glorious record.

A superior race in the family of nations, and his superiority is evidenced and shown forth in his wonderful achievements.

But after the accomplishments and records of the human race over a period of several thousand years, as outlined in this very striking and concise statement, we find some white quisling, some sorry specimen of this race which has had such a glorious history, who is ready to sell the whole race, its whole record and its attainments in the course of history down the river, for the sake of a few votes or for a little office or sometimes for the sake of the almighty dollar. Sometimes it is a case of fanaticism, a case of a twisted brain, a case of an unholy and unrighteous influence on their lives. There is a quirk somewhere in their heads which accounts for these exceptions to the rule.

Lillian Smith, the daughter of one of the old, leading families of Georgia, went to school at Columbia University. She became tainted with the doctrine of Dr. Boas, the German Jew who came to this country from Germany. He did not come to the United States until he was between 20 and 30 years of age, I believe. He taught that the solution to the race problem was for the whites and the blacks immediately to intermarry. He said that would solve all the trouble. That is what the Spanish did when they settled in Puerto Rico. Back yonder in the olden days of the success of Spain as an empire, the Spaniards settled in Puerto Rico. They wanted to export the resources of that semitropical land which was very rich at that time. They sent their colonists to Puerto Rico, and they instructed them—and they taught it and urged it and caused it to happen—that the thing to do was to intermarry with the members of the Negro race living in Puerto Rico. I am told that today there are only 12 of the original Spanish families on the island of Puerto Rico that are of all white blood. All the others are mongrels.

Mr. President, what do we find? What is the condition? What are their successes? What are their attainments? They are a charge upon the Treasury of the United States. That is the penalty the white race pays when it attempts to bring about miscegenation, intermarriage, mixing.

I read further from the pamphlet:

We may now direct our attention to the descendants of Jepheth, who is reputed to be the father of many varied types of Oriental races or nations, which are now occupying Oriental Asia, China, Japan, Egypt, and many other smaller divisions throughout the Eastern Hemisphere.

These peoples together constitute the second great division of mankind. No scientist has yet told how or when or what produced the brown, yellow, or dark-colored races. It is asserted, however, that certain chemicals, known as carotene and melanin, which is contained in the skin, produces, or causes, various colors.

In the Bible it is related that in the olden times man had multiplied and had grown great upon the earth, and had assembled to build a great tower to heaven. While at work on Babel, God confounded their language and dispersed the builders into all foreign countries.

The whites emigrated to the Western Hemisphere, those who are now brown and yellow went eastward, and the Egyptians and Africans settled in the great continent of Africa. In order to find homes, these people neces-

sarily traveled slowly and with great difficulty, and when they finally established in foreign countries, were overlooked and forgotten until in later years when they had achieved national existence.

The Egyptians, in the Valley of the Nile, seem to have been the first to establish a great and flourishing civilization, which they transmitted to all other adjoining peoples.

The African tribes failed to profit by or adopt the civilization and enlightenment of the Egyptians, who were their next door neighbors, and they still remain a stationary, mysterious, barbarous people to this day.

The colored Asiatics, Chinese, Japanese, and other lesser divisions of mankind, by their own initiative, isolated and separated, developed a civilization equal to other nations. Measured by their accomplishments they must be classed with and be denominated a worthy brother in the family of nations of a superior quality.

On the preceding pages we have outlined and tried to show what has been a few of the accomplishments of the white and the yellow nations and races.

We will now briefly give an idea of what the African Negro race has accomplished and what it has done during its existence to improve humanity, and what this people has accomplished as one of the brothers in the families of mankind.

In all the pages of history, we do not find any account of a movement initiated by the Negro or African race, which was of benefit to the world.

Mr. President, that is a very strong statement.

We might well close this narrative and go no further in comparing the Negro with the nations mentioned herein, the comparison would be odious and unprofitable and we can, with propriety and truth, bring this discussion to an end by stating that the African Negro races have been "weighed in the balances and found wanting."

From the beginning of time up to the year 1865 they neither had a god nor a religion. They never established a national existence, they never had a government, a kingdom nor a king, never a court of law, nor a legislative body. They never produced a statesman, an inventor, never had a language, never produced a writer nor a book, never built a pyramid or a monument or a shrine, and have left no mark or lasting evidence that there ever existed in the African Continent such a people or a race. Their accomplishments and their existence have added nothing to humanity and to the world.

What I have read represents the history of the race now dominating the majority—shall I say?—of the United States Congress. That is apparently the situation. If this minority can come forward and say to Senators and Representatives, "If you do not vote this way or that way we will vote against you as a group," and Members of Congress listen to them, and become guilty of passing such absurd and absolutely idiotic and trouble-making legislation as is here proposed, the Negro who, with three or four thousand years behind him, now stands with nothing to his credit will be operating and controlling the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States and will have his own way. That is the direction toward which we are heading. I think it is time that we called a halt in the name of the white men of this country.

I continue reading:

Now, from the beginning of time the African Continent has been only a great black spot from which no spark of intellectual, so-

cial, or economic light has ever emanated, which tended to raise mankind, or their teeming millions, above the brute and animals among whom they lived. The people of the South cannot be forced to believe and consider that this race, and the people of these tribes are equal brothers in the brotherhood of mankind.

Since 1865, the improved hybrids among them, and many full-blooded Negroes, have taken on a veneer of civilization and education which encourages the belief that in time they may become worthy citizens of the country. There are many living examples today of respected and appreciated men and women among them.

In the preceding pages it is apparent to any young student that intermarriage between dissimilar races is contrary to natural laws and is harmful, and that it does not improve but rather deteriorates the original stock.

It is further shown that if all men are brothers and are alike physically, they differ mentally, morally, and socially in their make-up. Some are superior and some are inferior when measured by their accomplishments.

Furthermore, God in His wisdom saw fit to segregate and separate different races by placing each color and class in different lands, removed from intercourse and contact in order to preserve racial integrity.

In the following chapter we will review the accomplishments of the Negro since he became a free citizen of the United States, in the year 1865, and thus ascertain if his accomplishments and social status entitles him to demand equal social privileges with the white citizens of the United States.

In other words, the efforts of the modern ethnologists and anthropologists in endeavoring to get the idea across that there is no difference between the white man and the Negro may suit other Senators who are willing to swallow it, but, so far as I am concerned, I am not ready to swallow such tommyrot. If other Senators wish to accept it, very well; if they wish to believe it, very well; but there is nothing to it.

I continue reading:

Other nations of the world have a background of a thousand birthdays to their credit; marked by effort, sacrifice, bloodshed, and tears, through which they secured, and worked out for themselves, civilization. The 1st day of January 1865 is the first birthday of the American Negro. Then his citizenship became effective in the United States.

That was when Abraham Lincoln said in his Emancipation Proclamation that the Negro should be segregated and sent to a country of his own.

I continue reading:

So it may be observed that he has had just 80 years of civilization conferred on him by the white people of America. Some white people in America are advocating and advising that absorption may be the final solution and settlement of the race issues. Such a process and solution would be most welcomed by the Negro and certain social organizations.

No other people in the history of the world have had thrust upon them a perfected civilization. By the stroke of a pen seven or eight million barbarians were handed a complete, a matured, a perfected civilization upon a silver platter. They were given a government, a national home, a citizenship, free schools, religion, language, books, art and science, with helpful hands to instruct them in all economic and civic relations.

Mr. President, we are still doing that for the Negroes. In the bill which the Senate passed yesterday there was an appropriation of nearly a million dollars to

a school in Washington called Howard University, the only school or college in the United States which is being supported by Federal tax money. That school was established in 1867. Not until 1879 did Congress even think about appropriating money for the support of Howard University. The first appropriation was for \$10,000. It has since been increased to approximately a million dollars. Furthermore, that institution has 26 beautiful buildings, and we have spent several million dollars recently to equip those buildings.

I think that in justice, if we are to play the game fairly, the Negro has made so much progress, there are so many Negro-lovers preaching and speaking and teaching and writing in his behalf, and he is so smart, why should we continue to spend the taxpayers' money for this college, when it is a discrimination against the Poles of this country? The Poles should have a college supported by the Federal taxpayers. They should have a university. Then why not provide one for the Jews? Let us have a great Jewish university, and let Uncle Sam support it. Incidentally, we might have one for the Christian whites of this country, supported by the Federal taxpayers.

I think it is about time we should establish and give each group or race in the United States a university supported by appropriations by the Federal Government, a million dollars a year, or we had better close out Howard and let the Negroes, with all their money and all their progress and all their wealth—they certainly have a lot of folks fooled and willing to put up money for them—provide for the care of their own school. We have already given them the equipment for the institution, and it has a library worth more than a million dollars, new buildings, and a good Baptist preacher at the head of it, Dr. Mordecai Johnson. I think it is time we were serving notice on the board of trustees and the faculty and students and alumni of Howard University that the Congress of the United States does not feel justified in going any further in spending a million dollars a year for the support of this Negro school, when it does not appropriate for any other race or any other class or group in the United States.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator from Mississippi yield to me for a few moments?

Mr. BILBO. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. I wish to talk for about 5 minutes.

Mr. BILBO. I will yield if I do not lose the floor.

Mr. McKELLAR. It is understood that the Senator will not be taken from the floor.

Mr. President, I wish to call the attention of all Senators to the great importance of passing the pending bill. It contains appropriations for the National War Labor Board, the Office of the Alien Property Custodian, the Office of National Defense Transportation, the Office of Economic Stabilization, the Office of Scientific Research and Development, the Office of Inter-American Affairs, the Office of War Information, the Smaller

War Plants Corporation, the War Shipping Administration—the latter amounting to \$367,000,000, a very important matter—the Office for Emergency Management, and the general provisions. The entire amount appropriated in the bill to operate these agencies of our Government is \$976,613,730, nearly a billion dollars.

Mr. President, this is the 27th day of June. The bill should be passed and become the law by July 1. There is but one item now which is really in dispute.

Mr. President, I think I can safely say that no man ever worked harder, more assiduously, or more vigorously than have I to get this appropriation bill and all the appropriation bills passed by next Saturday, June 30, when they must be passed unless these governmental agencies are to stop functioning. The whole amount involved in the matter now pending, which is an intensely controversial question, is less than half a million dollars. The exact amount is \$446,200.

I realized that there might take place what is happening now in these closing days, when the bill must be passed, if possible. There are seven amendments still undetermined. They are not important amendments, but every one of them can be debated. If we adopt the amendment now being discussed, there will be another to follow. New speeches can be made and time taken.

Furthermore, tomorrow the senior Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY] will make a report on the San Francisco Conference, and that will take some time. On the next day the distinguished senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] is to make a report on the San Francisco Conference, which will also take time.

Mr. President, I am trying to point out that if this debate continues as it is now proceeding, there will not be a chance to pass the bill and keep these agencies of Government running as they should continue.

Under those circumstances, for several days I have tried vigorously, earnestly, and honestly to work out some compromise between the rival factions, in order to get the matter adjusted so as to let these operations of the Government continue, and let the appropriation bills be passed.

Mr. President, I have done everything I possibly could do to have the pending bill passed. The only thing that stands in the way of its passage is the FEPC, and knowing of course intimately the rival factional situation and how intense the feeling is, it has been extraordinarily difficult even to talk about a compromise. But such was my desire to get these appropriations through at the appointed time that I have done everything I could do to bring about a compromise. I thought we had succeeded in bringing one about this morning.

Mr. President, I ask to have printed at this point in the RECORD the amendment prepared by the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. CHAVEZ] as it will be offered if that point is ever reached, and an amendment to it which I have prepared as the compromise which I sought to have agreed to. I ask that my compromise be printed in the RECORD immediately after

the printing of the amendment proposed to be offered by the Senator from New Mexico.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment intended to be proposed by the Senator from New Mexico will be printed in the RECORD, and the amendment suggested by the Senator from Tennessee will be printed and lie on the table.

The amendments are as follows:

Amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. CHAVEZ to the bill (H. R. 3363) making appropriations for war agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1946, and for other purposes, the following amendment, namely: On page 1, after line 8, insert the following:

"COMMITTEE ON FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE

"Salaries and expenses: For all expenses necessary to enable the Committee on Fair Employment Practice to carry out any functions lawfully vested in it by Executive Orders Nos. 8802 and 9346, including salary of a chairman at not to exceed \$8,000 per annum and six other members at not to exceed \$25 per diem when actually engaged; travel expenses (not to exceed \$63,800); expenses of witnesses in attendance at committee hearings, when necessary; printing and binding (not to exceed \$4,800); purchase of newspapers and periodicals (not to exceed \$500); not to exceed \$694 for deposit in the general fund of the Treasury for cost of penalty mail as required by section 2 of the act of June 28, 1944 (Public Law 364); and the temporary employment of persons, by contract or otherwise, without regard to section 3709 of the Revised Statutes and the civil-service and classification laws (not to exceed \$8,900); \$446,200: *Provided*, That no part of the funds herein appropriated shall be used to pay the compensation of any person to initiate, investigate, or prosecute any complaint against any defendant where such defendant does not have the same right to appeal an adverse decision of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice to the President of the United States, or to refer said complaint to the President of the United States for final disposition, as is asserted by or allowed the said Committee on Fair Employment Practice in cases where persons complained against refuse to abide by its orders: *Provided further*, That no part of this appropriation shall be used to pay the compensation of any person to initiate, investigate, or prosecute any proceedings against any person, firm, or corporation which seeks to effect the seizure or operation of any plant or other property of such person, firm, or corporation by Federal authority for failure to abide by any rule or regulation of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice, or for failure to abide by any order passed by the Committee on Fair Employment Practice: *Provided further*, That no part of the funds herein appropriated shall be used to pay the compensation of any person employed by said Committee on Fair Employment Practice who issues or attempts to enforce any rule, regulation, or order which repeals, amends, or modifies any law enacted by the Congress."

Amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. McKELLAR to the amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. CHAVEZ to the bill (H. R. 3363) making appropriations for war agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1946, and for other purposes, viz:

Page 1, line 6, strike out "not to exceed" and insert in lieu thereof "the rate of."

Page 1, line 7, after the word "at" insert "the rate of."

Page 1, line 8, strike out "\$63,800" and insert in lieu thereof "\$31,266."

Page 2, line 2, strike out "\$4,800" and insert in lieu thereof "\$2,400."

Page 2, line 3, strike out "\$500" and insert in lieu thereof "\$250."

Page 2, line 4, strike out "\$694" and insert in lieu thereof "\$231.33."

Page 2, line 10, strike out "\$8,900" and insert in lieu thereof "\$4,450."

Page 2, line 10, strike out "\$446,200" and insert in lieu thereof "\$250,000."

Page 3, line 9, after the word "Congress" insert a colon and the following: "*And provided further*, That this appropriation is for the sole purpose of carrying out the functions of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice created by Executive order until 6 months from July 1, 1945."

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, my substitute suggestion would simply cut the various subsidiary amounts in half. The proposed appropriation for FEPC is \$446,200. My proposal would substitute \$250,000 for that amount, and cut in half the individual amounts provided in the amendment proposed to be offered by the Senator from New Mexico. My amendment further provides:

And provided further, That this appropriation is for the sole purpose of carrying out the functions of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice created by Executive order until 6 months from July 1, 1945.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President—

Mr. McKELLAR. I will yield to the Senator in one moment.

Mr. President, the purpose of that is to adjust and compromise so that these very necessary appropriation bills can be passed. If the matter comes up for vote every Senator will vote as he sees fit, of course. I do not know whether my good, generous and kindly friend, the Senator from New Mexico, has with him two-thirds of the Members of this body who will vote with him in his attempt to have his amendment adopted. Adoption of his amendment requires a two-thirds majority. To my mind it is a toss-up whether two-thirds of the membership of the Senate are with him, or whether those on the other side can muster one-third of the membership of the Senate. I think it is a very doubtful question.

Mr. President, under those circumstances, with \$1,000,000,000 of Government work in danger of being absolutely stopped, it is absolutely necessary, it seems to me, that we should all drop any feelings we may have about the matter.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President—

Mr. McKELLAR. I will yield to the Senator from New Mexico in a moment. We should drop any feelings we have about the matter and agree simply to postpone this subject for 6 months. Certainly the proponents of the amendment have a great deal to gain because it is very doubtful whether the amendment would receive the necessary two-thirds majority. On the other hand, as I look at it, those of us who are not so much concerned with the amendment as we are concerned with carrying on the Government as it should be carried on should have reason to believe, and I think both sides should have reason to feel that they have done a fair and a just thing under the circumstances if the compromise is adopted.

Mr. President, the war is still going on and we might well agree to let the matter go over 6 months. Bills are pending in both Houses to establish a legal FEPC. Fights on those measures are yet to come. If the efforts to have such bills passed should fail then what I now pro-

pose would not make any difference. If they should succeed, appropriations will have to be made under legislation to be enacted hereafter. Appropriations would not be made under Executive order, because the Executive order expires when the war is over. For that reason I plead with my two friends. I almost implore them—for heaven's sake, let us come to an agreement so that the appropriations contained in the pending measure may be made.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, why get after me? I have not been delaying this matter.

Mr. McKELLAR. Will the Senator wait one moment, please, and I will yield to him. I simply wish to implore both the Senator from Mississippi and the Senator from New Mexico, for heaven's sake, let us agree to a compromise and pass the bill. It is absolutely necessary that it should be passed. If the bill is not passed it will be one of the most embarrassing things that has ever happened to me. I have been acting chairman of the Committee on Appropriations for several years. It has never happened to me before that necessary appropriations bills were not passed before July 1. I want to have the pending bill passed now. I am disregarding any feeling I have in the matter. I am disregarding any position I may want to take in the matter, any purpose I may have in the matter, for the purpose of seeing if we cannot reach an agreement honorable to each side that will allow us to pass the pending appropriation bill, which is so necessary in carrying on our Government.

I now yield to the Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, neither the Senator from New Mexico nor any other Senator interested in the amendment concerning FEPC has delayed the passage of the bill. The delay has been caused by those who probably do not want the amendment regarding FEPC to be adopted in any form. I have been anxious to compromise. I have compromised. The agency in question was created under as much authority of law as was OWI, for which the Senate approved an appropriation of \$39,000,000. This agency was created under as much authority of law as was the Office of Inter-American Affairs. It was created under as much authority of law as was the War Relocation Authority. The majority of Senators are trying to continue an agency that was created for war purposes, and simply because some Senator delays the vote on the amendment we are accused of delaying action on the bill.

Mr. President, I will now make a proposition to the Senator from Tennessee. The Bureau of the Budget approved \$599,000 for this agency. In order to try to compromise I agreed to ask only for the amount that was provided last year. This morning Senators came to us with a proposition to cut the amount to \$250,000. I will agree with the proposal made by the Senator from Tennessee if he can get his friends who are opposing the amendment to withdraw their proviso, and we can pass the bill

in 3 minutes. If a desire exists to be fair, let us try to be fair.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I thought we had agreed this morning on this compromise, but I find that we are not now agreed. There was a misunderstanding about it. But surely the Senator from New Mexico cannot accuse me of trying to delay. I have not delayed this measure one moment. I have been trying to have it passed ever since the bill was reported last Wednesday. I find myself against almost an impenetrable wall. I am stopped right in the middle of my effort. I want it understood that I offer this proposal in the spirit of friendly, genuine compromise. I say to the Senator from New Mexico that I had the greatest difficulty in getting the Senator from Mississippi to agree. The Senator from New Mexico will recall that he doubted whether the Senator from Mississippi would agree to the proposal when he presented it to him, and he was not willing to take my word for it, so I went to the Senator from Mississippi and asked him again and he told me that he would agree to it, and I thought it was all over. Then some question arose as to the language. This language simply postpones the question for 6 months. There is nothing in this language to which any reasonable person could object. It merely postpones the question for 6 months. We could not appropriate the money and allow the agency to operate for the whole year. The language is as follows:

And provided further, That this appropriation is for the sole purpose of carrying out the functions of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice created by Executive order until 6 months from July 1, 1945.

Under the terms of the original amendment the agency would have been continued until June 30, 1946. Under the terms of this amendment it would be continued until January 1, 1946—a difference of 6 months. That is all there is to it. There cannot be anything else to it. There is no suggestion of liquidation.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. CHAVEZ. In order to be consistent, would the Senator be willing to adopt the same provision with respect to the OWI, the WRA, and the Office of Inter-American Affairs?

Mr. McKELLAR. No one has advocated that course. The Senator from New Mexico has not advocated it. He is a member of our committee. It is not advocated by anyone else.

I am merely trying, in the utmost kindness and friendship, to adjust the differences between friends of mine on both sides of the question; and like the usual peacemaker, I am being mauled very extensively here this afternoon.

I should dislike to see the pending bill fail. It would be a shame. It would be a discredit to the Senate if a reasonable compromise were not entered into and the bill allowed to pass.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. CHAVEZ. I dislike to disagree with my friend from Tennessee; but I deny that it is a disgrace to the Senate

when an amendment is approved in the Committee on Appropriations by a vote of 14 to 4, and is held up merely because some Senator is filibustering against it. I do not think it is fair for the Senator from Tennessee to accuse the Committee on Appropriations, which by a vote of 14 to 4, instructed me to present the amendment to the Senate. In my opinion, what is a disgrace is to have talk instead of voting on the amendment. Why do not the opponents get ready to vote and defeat the amendment?

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. President—

Mr. McKELLAR. Just a moment. Let me answer what has been said.

I am afraid that my friend has allowed his interest in the matter to carry him a little too far. I have made no charges against the Appropriations Committee of the Senate. I have been a Member of the Senate for a long time, and I think the Appropriations Committee of the Senate is one of the grandest bodies of men with whom I have ever associated. I feel honored every time I look at them. Not long ago I had a picture of them taken. If I should ever retire, I certainly will have that picture framed and placed in my home. I am very proud of it. It is a striking picture of a wonderful group of men. I am glad to say that the distinguished Senator from New Mexico is one of them. It is a splendid group of men, and I would not reflect on any one of them for anything in the world.

We have before us, as we all know, one of the most inflammatory contentions that could possibly exist among mankind. I am merely trying to adjust the differences between my friends. I am trying to relieve myself of any preconceived notions. So far as I am concerned, I am perfectly willing to vote on the amendment at any time. A two-thirds vote is necessary to suspend the rule. We cannot help that. There is no authority of law for this agency. I cannot help that. Heretofore appropriations for the agency have been made by unanimous consent; but this time there is a contention with respect to the agency, and I am trying to adjust the differences.

Notwithstanding the statement which has been made by my distinguished friend from New Mexico, I hope he will think the matter over. I ask him to consider our relationship on the committee. I would very much dislike to break the record which we have established and maintained for so long, of always passing our appropriation bills by June 30. I made the same appeal to my friend from Mississippi [Mr. Bilbo]. I must say that it took him a long time to agree to my suggestion, but he finally agreed to it. I hope the Senator from New Mexico will also agree.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. McMAHON. I find myself somewhat confused. What has the Senator from Mississippi agreed to?

Mr. McKELLAR. He has agreed to the suggested amendment, which would reduce the appropriation to \$250,000, and permit the agency to continue to operate until January 1.

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. BILBO. The Senator has overlooked one item. I agreed to it provided it was understood that at the end of the 6 months' period the FEPC would be liquidated.

Mr. McKELLAR. I fear that I am getting into deeper water all the time.

Mr. BILBO. That is the meat in the coconut.

Mr. McKELLAR. It seems that all my efforts toward adjustment and compromise are getting nowhere because of the differences between my two friends.

Mr. BILBO. I will leave it to any Member of the Senate. The way the Senator states the case, there is no compromise.

Mr. McKELLAR. There may not be.

Mr. BILBO. The Senator is proposing to give the FEPC 6 months in which to organize, fatten, and get ready to obtain passage of permanent legislation.

Mr. McKELLAR. While we are on that subject let me explain. There is no way to keep a Senator from introducing any bill he wishes to introduce—for a permanent FEPC, a permanent alliance with Great Britain, a permanent alliance with Russia, or any other bill he wishes to introduce. We cannot agree that he may not introduce it. The question arises on the passage of the bill.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. President—

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator from Alabama is a warm friend of mine. He is a member of the committee, and I know that he sympathizes with me in the distress which I feel at not being able to have the pending bill passed promptly.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I always sympathize with the Senator when he is disturbed and distressed.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am disturbed and distressed about this bill—

Mr. BANKHEAD. I admire the Senator from Tennessee for his righteous efforts. I merely wish to ask him a question.

The Senator from New Mexico stated that he was instructed by the committee to present this amendment.

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I wonder if that was an accurate statement, or whether it was merely an authorization.

Mr. McKELLAR. It was an authorization, but a vote was taken, and my recollection is that a large majority of the Appropriations Committee voted to authorize the Senator from New Mexico to offer his amendment on the floor. That was the only way it could be done. There is no authority of law for the agency. It is necessary first to suspend the rule of the Senate in order to offer the amendment. The Senator from New Mexico was authorized by a large majority of the committee—I have forgotten the number—to make the motion to suspend the rule and offer the amendment. That is the way we must ordinarily proceed in matters of this kind.

I felt that we should come to an agreement. I have interrupted the Senator from Mississippi, and I apologize to him. I was merely making an effort in the hope that I could get the two rival fac-

tions to come to an agreement. I still feel that we should pass all the appropriation bills before the end of the fiscal year. My old friend WALLACE WHITE is looking at me. I know he feels exactly the same way; and I believe that nine-tenths of us feel the same way. I hope the rival factions will get together.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. CHAVEZ. On the question of compromise, let me make a proposition: I will agree to the language of the amendment prepared by the Senator from Tennessee to reduce the appropriation to \$250,000, provided the other side agrees to eliminate the proviso.

Mr. McKELLAR. Of course, as I told the Senator, the other side has not agreed to do so. That may necessitate further negotiations; and the first thing we know this bill will be in the discard, because there are seven committee amendments remaining to be disposed of, and one man can talk the bill to death between now and Saturday night.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. I hope the Senator will not give up hope of obtaining action on the bill. I do not believe that the situation is hopeless.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am glad to hear the Senator talk that way. From the way he talked to me a while ago, I did not think there was a chance in the world, and I have just been appealing to both factions.

Mr. BARKLEY. I have been doing the same thing all day. I have consulted many times with the Senator from Tennessee. He has been cooperative, as I have tried to be. I hope we can adjust the difficulty. I think it is not hopeless, and I trust the Senator will not lose heart and courage. We have 3 or 4 days yet.

Mr. McKELLAR. I have just 3 days in which to use all the courage I have.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator is noted for his courage, and I hope he will not become faint-hearted now. I do not think he will.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am becoming very pessimistic about the chances of the passage of this bill.

Mr. BARKLEY. Frequently we have these situations at the end of the fiscal year, but usually we work them out.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. McMAHON. I should like to ascertain whether the Senator from Mississippi has agreed to the following arrangement:

And provided further, That this appropriation is for the sole purpose of carrying out the functions of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice created by Executive order until 6 months from July 1, 1945.

The Senator from Mississippi has agreed to that; has he not?

Mr. BILBO. If that means the termination of the agency and a period of liquidation—

Mr. McMAHON. Of course, if I know the meaning of the English language, it does not mean any such thing.

Mr. BILBO. Then, I did not agree to it.

Mr. McMAHON. Does the Senator agree to it only if it is interpreted as meaning the liquidation of the agency?

Mr. BILBO. Yes.

Mr. McMAHON. Of course, that is not written into the proposed amendment.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I wish to be perfectly frank, and I wish to say that I thought the meaning was perfectly plain. I usually am as plain as a man can be in the use of language. Certainly I am as plain in the use of language as I am able to be, because it is never my purpose to use language which cannot be understood. When I read the language, I thought the Senator from Mississippi agreed to it. I believe that, upon reflecting, he will recall that that is the fact.

Mr. BILBO. No; I have never seen that.

Mr. McKELLAR. The copy which has just been read is a different copy. The copy I had was written out in my own handwriting. The Senator may have misunderstood it.

Mr. BILBO. The Senator will remember that I insisted that it meant the termination and liquidation of the FEPC, and as a further consideration I asked that the agreement be that there be no effort to pass the bill—which is now pending and on our calendar—providing for the creation of a permanent agency. The Senator said I was asking for too much, so I withdraw that part of it.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for a moment?

Mr. BILBO. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. I believe the Senator is a good Baptist or a good Methodist; is he not?

Mr. BILBO. I am in perfect standing.

Mr. McKELLAR. In what church?

Mr. BILBO. In the Baptist Church.

Mr. McKELLAR. Will not the Senator be good enough to go home tonight and pray over the matter, and then see if we cannot come to an agreement with our distinguished friend from New Mexico? I know he is a good Catholic.

Mr. CHAVEZ. In good standing.

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes; in good standing.

Mr. BARKLEY. If we can get those two denominations together we shall have no trouble.

Mr. McKELLAR. I hope the Senator from Mississippi will pray over it and will reach a proper decision.

Mr. BILBO. I will keep on praying that the Lord will help me to end the FEPC.

But I wish to say to my friend from New Mexico that I am sure the Senator from Tennessee did not mean to charge him with delaying action on the bill, because in all fairness it must be said that the Senator from New Mexico has not done a thing up to this hour to delay passage of the war agencies appropriation bill, and I do not want that charge placed against him. But I am afraid the Senator will be guilty of delaying action on the bill if he makes a motion to suspend the rule in order that he might use that little squirt gun from Mexico to inject poison into this bill.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Of course, Mr. President, the Senator will permit me to take that responsibility, if I wish to do so.

Mr. BILBO. Of course. But I wish to give the Senator and the world notice that if the bill providing appropriations for these 16 agencies is not passed, it will be because the sponsors of the FEPC would prefer to see those agencies fail, rather than to have the FEPC appropriation fail.

Now I wish to say to the Senator from Tennessee, who is a very delightful character, and of whom I am very fond—in fact, I love him, and we have many matters in common which make us of one mind.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, my attention was diverted for a moment, but I understand that the Senator has been complimenting me. I receive so few compliments that I should like to know just what it was the Senator said.

Mr. BILBO. I was telling the Senator how very fond I am of him; in fact, I love him. We have things in common; we are both bachelors, you understand. [Laughter.]

I wish to say in reference to the proposition the Senator from Tennessee has offered, that insofar as its being a compromise is concerned, there is no compromise.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. BILBO. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. Let me make a suggestion. The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] has assured me that he will do everything in the world he can do to bring about a settlement of this matter.

Mr. BILBO. Yes.

Mr. McKELLAR. Will not the Senator from Mississippi be kind enough not to discuss it further this afternoon and let us see if we can get together tomorrow? If the Senator will do that, I shall be greatly obliged to him.

Mr. BILBO. I will just make the statement that the Senator's proposed compromise is not a compromise.

Mr. President, when I was interrupted a short time ago I was beginning to read, for the information of my friend, the Senator from New Mexico, and others, a pamphlet entitled "The Birthday of the American Negro." It is very interesting. The citizenship of the American Negro dates from 1865, when he was made a citizen by the proclamation of Lincoln, followed by the adoption of the amendments to the Constitution of the United States. I read further from the pamphlet:

So it may be observed that he has had just 80 years of civilization conferred on him by the white people of America, although he had been exposed to it as a slave for a longer period than that. Some white people of America are advocating and advising that absorption may be the final solution and settlement of the race issue. Such a process and solution would be most welcome by the Negro and certain social organizations.

If Senators will read this book to which I have been calling their attention, and if they will then read it a second time, and if they will read the recent writings of some of the Negro intelligentsia, some of the educated class of Negroes, they will find that those Negroes are boldly preaching and advocating the intermixing of the races in America, and they ad-

vocate it as the only solution of the race problem.

Let us consider for a moment Richard Wright, who came from my State. In all his writings, he is preaching the intermarriage of the races. In fact, he has gone to Brooklyn, N. Y., and has married a white woman, and he is living there now. Many other Negroes are preaching the same doctrine. There are a number of associations which are advocating the intermarriage of the races, and I am sorry to say that there are some so-called white people who are advocating the same thing.

Senators would be surprised to know the number of white people today who are married to Negroes. There are a great many persons in Michigan who are married to Negroes. The same situation prevails in Illinois. It prevails also to a large extent in New York, Philadelphia, and in the District of Columbia. It might be interesting to Senators to know that some of the white girls who work in governmental departments are married and living with Negro men. There is no law against a situation of that kind in the District of Columbia. Since I became a Member of the Senate I have introduced bills which would prohibit intermarriage in the District of Columbia. I shall reintroduce a similar bill later on. I did not introduce one during the last session of Congress because I did not wish to interfere with any war program while the war was going on.

Mr. President, I do not believe any of the suggestions which have been made for solving problems between the races are worth very much. We may try to stopgap them, but the effect will remain for only a short while. We have kept the white race pure in the South for 150 years. We have drawn the line between intermarriage of the white and colored races. However, in the sections of the country where the line has been broken down, it may be seen what the result has been.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BILBO. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. I have been informed that the Senator from Mississippi is willing that with the exception of the pending amendment, the remaining committee amendments to the pending bill which have not yet been acted upon may be agreed to this afternoon.

Mr. BILBO. No; that is not my understanding. I will agree to let the bill go over and be taken up again tomorrow.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, last evening the majority leader gave notice that, if necessary, a night session would be held—

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I do not wish to take the Senator from Mississippi off the floor.

Mr. BILBO. If the Senator desires that the Senate take a recess, it is all right with me. I am not tired, however.

Mr. McKELLAR. I was hoping that we could bring the amendments in number down to one by tomorrow.

Mr. BILBO. Oh, no.

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator is not willing that that be done?

Mr. BILBO. No; I am willing to quit just as we are.

Mr. McKELLAR. I see that we are not making any progress. I had understood that a prayer would be made tonight if we could narrow the amendments to only one.

Mr. BILBO. I am willing to stop now, but I want the floor tomorrow.

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

As in executive session,

The following favorable reports of nominations were submitted:

By Mr. GEORGE, from the Committee on Finance:

Sundry officers for promotion in the Regular Corps of the United States Public Health Service; and

Sundry persons for appointment in the Regular Corps of the United States Public Health Service.

Mr. McKELLAR, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads;

Elbert W. Franklin, to be postmaster at Floresville, Tex., in place of B. T. McDaniel, transferred.

CONFIRMATION OF ARMY NOMINATIONS

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, as in executive session I ask that the Army nominations on the calendar be confirmed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations in the Army are confirmed en bloc, and, without objection, the President will be notified forthwith.

WAR AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 3368) making appropriations for war agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1946, and for other purposes.

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, may I have an understanding with the Senator from Tennessee that I am yielding for the purpose of making a motion to adjourn?

Mr. McKELLAR. Not to adjourn, but I expect to move that the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

Mr. BILBO. May it be understood that I may have the floor tomorrow when the Senate convenes?

Mr. McKELLAR. I do not know whether an agreement has been reached or not, but the Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY] expects to make a speech tomorrow in the nature of a report to the Congress with regard to the recent Conference held at San Francisco.

Mr. BILBO. I most certainly will yield in a case of that kind, but I want the floor when the Senate convenes again tomorrow.

Mr. McKELLAR. Will the Senator from Mississippi yield to the Senator from Texas in order that he may make his statement?

Mr. BILBO. Certainly; with the understanding that I will not lose the floor.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, is it the purpose of the Senator from Tennessee to make a motion at this time to recess until tomorrow?

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes.

Mr. BILBO. Yes; and give us a chance to pray.

Mr. CHAVEZ. I think the Senator from Mississippi needs a lot of prayer, and needs to agree to a decent kind of a compromise.

Mr. McKELLAR. I hope he will take his problem to a higher power and come to a conclusion which will be just and right.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Yes. I suggest also that he read the speech delivered by President Truman in San Francisco yesterday. It might help the prayer.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am quite sure it would.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Last evening the majority leader gave notice to the Senate of the possibility of holding a session tonight.

Mr. McKELLAR. There cannot be a meeting of the Senate tonight. The majority leader [Mr. BARKLEY] has been called to Chicago, where he expects to make a speech tonight at 8 o'clock. He will return in the morning. He will not be present in Washington tonight.

Mr. CHAVEZ. I am afraid that would interfere with the extended explanation of the FEPC which the Senator from Mississippi is making, but I wished to give him an opportunity to consume the time between now and 6 o'clock tomorrow morning. I was hoping that the Senate would hold a night session.

Mr. BILBO. I will be glad of the opportunity to remain here if the Senator from New Mexico will also remain.

RECESS

Mr. McKELLAR. I move that the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 46 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until tomorrow, Thursday, June 28, 1945, at 12 o'clock meridian.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate June 27 (legislative day of June 25), 1945:

TEMPORARY APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES

To be lieutenant generals

Matthew Bunker Ridgway
Alvan Cullom Gillem, Jr.
Troy Houston Middleton
Willis Dale Crittenger
Nathan Farragut Twining
Charles Philip Hall
John Reed Hodge
Raymond Stallings McLain
LeRoy Lutes
Robert Charlwood Richardson, Jr.
John Edwin Hull
Ennis Clement Whitehead

To be major generals

Ewart Gladstone Plank
Lauris Norstad
Clovis Ethelbert Byers
Donald Weldon Brann
Lawrence Carmel Jaynes
Ray Tyson Maddocks
Edward Michael Powers
Stanley Lonzo Scott
George Henry Decker
Harold Mark McClelland

To be brigadier generals

Joseph Pringle Cleland
George Irving Back
Orlando Clarendon Mood
James Thomas Loomer
Francis Hill
Robert Quinney Brown
Rinaldo Van Brunt
George William Rice
James Clyde Fry
George Allan Miller
Harvey Edward

Carl Amandus Brandt
Edward Haviland Lastayo
Armistead Davis Mead, Jr.
Lawrence Joseph Carr
Laurence Knight Ladue
Eugene McGinley
Frederic Lord Hayden
Walter Robertson Agee
Louis Wilson Maddox
George Stanley Smith
Robert Whitney Burns
John Henry Woodberry
Vincent Joseph Esposito
John Forest Goodman
Frank Sayles Bowen, Jr.
Gordon Edmund Textor
Milton Wylie Arnold
Edward Lyman Munson, Jr.
Orlen Nelson Thompson
John Simpson Guthrie
William Wesley Wanamaker
Charles Moore Walson
William Preston Corderman
Harry McKenzie Roper
Edwin William Chamberlain
Yantis Halbert Taylor
Leonard Dickson Weddington
Andrew Daniel Hopping
Warren Henry McNaught
Woods King
F. Trubee Davison
Hugh Meglone Milton 2d
Elliott Carr Cutler
Frank Richard Denton
Harold Ross Harris
Edward Reynolds
Harry H. Vaughan

To be major generals

Edward Peck Curtis
John Merryman Franklin

APPOINTMENTS IN THE REGULAR ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES

To be second lieutenants, Air Corps, with rank from June 5, 1945

Elmer Resides Haslett
Bernard Moran James

APPOINTMENTS, BY TRANSFER, IN THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES

TO FINANCE DEPARTMENT

Capt. Joseph Cobb Stancook

TO SIGNAL CORPS

Lt. Col. Chester Arthur Carlsten

TO CAVALRY

First Lt. John Fuller Davis, Jr.

TO INFANTRY

Lt. Col. William Leonard Ritter
First Lt. William Robert Hughes
First Lt. Joseph Barry Yost

TO AIR CORPS

Second Lt. David Mortimer Falk

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 27, 1945

The House met at 12 o'clock noon, and was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore, Mr. McCORMACK.

DESIGNATION OF SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication which was read by the Clerk:

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 27, 1945.

I hereby designate the Honorable JOHN W. McCORMACK to act as Speaker pro tempore today.

SAM RAYBURN.

PRAYER

Rev. J. Warren Hastings, minister of the National City Christian Church,

Washington, D. C., offered the following prayer:

Our Father, which art in Heaven, we thank Thee that we can be here today to give of the best of our abilities to the solving of national problems which confront us.

We thank Thee that men and women have always been helped when they have called upon Thee. We thank Thee, dear Father, that we are aware of the fact that in ancient times men were directed by Thy Spirit. Thou didst lead Abraham; Thou didst open the way for Jacob; Thou didst lead and strengthen Elijah. The rays of Thy love and leadership ever shone before the footsteps of Paul. Thou didst lead Thine own Son to the peaks of glory. We thank Thee, Lord, that Thou art a God who will help to guide us if we call upon Thee.

We are thankful, dear Lord, that Thou hast brought us to this Nation in a day like this. In the Old Book we read the message, "Esther, thou didst come to the kingdom for such a day as this"; and in the New Book we read the message, "In the fullness of time God sent forth His Son." We believe that we have been called by Thee to undertake tremendous responsibilities in this most critical period of our Nation's life. Each one of us, dear Father, has a sense of destiny in our hearts.

Our Father, as we look to the duties of this day and of the days ahead, we pledge Thee of our every talent and ability. We will reach out our hands and place them in Thine and will abide by the leadership of Thy Spirit. We know that Thy presence near us will quicken our own thinking and will empower our wills.

Help us to so carry on for this Nation and for the world in which we live that the life of the individual on this planet will become a happier, finer experience; that poverty and ignorance and suffering will sink into the background, and that the happiest day that man has ever known will come to pass in this earth.

And may the glory for this achievement be not ours primarily, and those who labor with us, but may the glory and the honor and the praise be Thy Son's whose we are and whom we serve. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate had passed, with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H. R. 3199. An act making appropriations for the Department of Labor, the Federal Security Agency, and related independent agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1946, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to the foregoing bill, requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. McKELLAR, Mr. MEAD, Mr. TYDINGS, Mr. MURDOCK, Mr. HAYDEN, Mr. BURTON, Mr. BALL, and Mr. WHERRY to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed, with amendments in

which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H. R. 3035. An act to reclassify the salaries of postmasters, officers, and employees of the Postal Service; to establish uniform procedures for computing compensation; and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to the foregoing bill, requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. McKellar, Mr. Hayden, Mr. Bailey, Mr. Reed, and Mr. Langer to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 184) entitled "Joint resolution to continue the temporary increases in postal rates on first-class matter, and for other purposes"; disagreed to by the House; agrees to the conference asked by the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. George, Mr. Walsh, Mr. Barkley, Mr. Taft, and Mr. Butler to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

COMMITTEE ON THE MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, I ask unanimous consent that that committee may sit today during the period of general debate in the House.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

THE SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE

Mr. CURLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks and include the address delivered by President Truman at the San Francisco Conference.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

[Mr. CURLEY addressed the House. His remarks appear in the Appendix.]

SALARIES OF POSTMASTERS, OFFICERS, AND EMPLOYEES OF THE POSTAL SERVICE

Mr. BURCH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H. R. 3035) to reclassify the salaries of postmasters, officers, and employees of the postal service; to establish uniform procedures for computing compensation; and for other purposes, with Senate amendments thereto and concur in the Senate amendments.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read the Senate amendments, as follows:

Page 2, line 20, strike out "the provisions of this section" and insert "this proviso."

Page 4, lines 2 and 3, strike out "two thousand and twenty-four" and insert "two thousand and eighty."

Page 4, lines 16 and 17, strike out "two thousand and twenty-four" and insert "two thousand and eighty."

Page 4, line 19, after "antemeridian", insert "": *Provided*, That such differential for night duty shall not be included in computing any overtime compensation to which the officer or employee may be entitled."

Page 13, line 19, strike out "finances" and insert "finance."

Page 16, strike out lines 22 to 25, inclusive, and insert "Unless otherwise assigned as provided herein, the postal cashier shall be superintendent of postal finance, and at offices with receipts less than \$20,000,000 the money-order cashier shall be superintendent of money orders."

Page 26, line 23, strike out "\$3,100" where it occurs the second time and insert "\$3,400."

Page 36, line 5, strike out all after "months." down to and including "employees." in line 7.

Page 36, after line 14, insert:

"(1) Temporary employees in the custodial service shall be paid at the respective rates of pay of grade 1 provided herein for regular employees."

Page 46, line 7, strike out all after "grade" down to and including "period" in line 9.

Page 47, line 12, strike out all after "grade:" down to and including "period:" in line 14.

Page 47, line 15, strike out "further."

Page 50, line 18, after "handlers" insert "": *Provided further*, That there shall be not more than one increase in the rate of pay of a substitute employee within a period of 12 months."

Page 58, line 13, strike out all after "20." over to and including "follows:" in line 9, page 59, and insert "During the period of hostilities with Japan and for not more than 30 days thereafter, when the needs of the service require postmasters of the first, second, and third classes, post-office inspectors, traveling mechanics, examiners of equipment and supplies, and officers of the Railway Mail and Air Mail Services, to perform service on Saturday they shall be allowed compensatory time for such service on 1 day within five working days next succeeding the Saturday on which the excess service was performed: *Provided*, That when and if required by the Postmaster General to be on duty more than 40 hours a week, they shall be paid as additional pay for working such additional time of 8 hours as follows."

Page 60, line 1, strike out "two thousand and twenty-four" and insert "two thousand and eighty."

Page 60, strike out lines 7 to 13, inclusive, and insert:

"Sec. 21. Employees who, under laws in effect June 30, 1945, are entitled to automatic promotions in salary effective July 1, 1945, and for whom automatic promotion grades are provided in this act, shall be given credit for their earned automatic promotion in salary before applying the provisions of sections 23 and 24 of this act. Employees who, under the laws in effect on June 30, 1945, would have received automatic promotions in salary on October 1, 1945, or January 1, or April 1, 1946, and for whom automatic increases in salary not exceeding \$100 per annum or 5 cents per hour, are provided in this act, shall be given credit for the time served since their last promotion prior to June 30, 1945, in determining eligibility for automatic promotions under the provisions of this act."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

Mr. HARTLEY. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, and I shall not object, I understand that most of these amendments are very minor and I am also told that they have the complete concurrence of all the postal organizations. As far as the minority side is concerned we are in full accord. Of course,

I expect the chairman to explain the Senate amendments.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, will the gentleman explain the amendments?

Mr. BURCH. Mr. Speaker, there is only one amendment that amounts to anything. The other ones are clarifying amendments. The bill, passed here a day or two ago for Federal employees as a whole, made 260 days the time for calculating overtime payment for employees. In the House bill, H. R. 3035, which passed some days ago, that was 253 days. The Senate amendment changes that to 260 days or 2,080 hours. That is practically the only change.

Mr. HARTLEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURCH. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. HARTLEY. This morning I talked with Mr. Dougherty, national head of the Postal Carriers Association, who informed me that they had a meeting this morning and that they all agreed with the Senate amendment and hoped that the House would accept it.

Mr. BURCH. That is correct.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURCH. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. RICH. I realize that you have increased the salaries of the Members of Congress; we have increased the salaries of the postal employees; you have increased the salaries of the Government employees, but what is Congress going to do in reference to the people back home in order that they might be enabled to pay this great burden that is going to be put on the backs of the taxpayers of this country of ours, when we find that on June 23 we had an indebtedness according to Treasury statement of \$255,689,911.043.93? I just ask you, Where are you going to get the money? Yes; that may be a question that the Members of Congress laugh at, but you will find out that it is not going to be a laughing matter very long. This Nation is going to bog down financially because this administration has been too free a spender and squanderer for those who are working in the Government and for the Government. Now, remember this: It is the people back home who will have to pay the bill, and it is about time that this Congress wakes up. I hope that the people back home will wake up and if they do, you will find out then what they think about the actions that this Congress is taking. You better cut down on departments and eliminate about a million and a half of Government employees that we can do without. Let them be producers with the taxpayers and not a liability to the taxpayers.

Mr. HARTLEY. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, may I say in answer to my colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania, that this Congress has never granted a raise that has met with more universal approval with the folks back home than the raise we have given the postal employees.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURCH. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. RANKIN. Whenever they take the pressure off of farm prices and allow the farmer a fair price for the commodities which he produces, we will have prosperity all over the Agricultural Belt and then we will have no trouble feeding the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. RICH), as well as all the rest of the Nation.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

The Senate amendments were concurred in.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

HON. ROBERT L. DOUGHTON

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, I have requested this recognition to call to the attention of the House a resolution unanimously adopted by the Committee on Ways and Means at a meeting this morning. I am sure every Member of the House joins in the sentiment expressed in this resolution by the Committee on Ways and Means. The resolution reads as follows:

Resolved by the Committee on Ways and Means, That it has heard with great pleasure and satisfaction that its distinguished chairman, the Honorable ROBERT L. DOUGHTON, of North Carolina, has just had conferred upon him the honorary degree of doctor of laws from the University of North Carolina, and conveys to him hearty congratulations, and expresses to the university its gratitude for this great honor so well bestowed, which is so richly deserved.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. HAGEN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a weather report issued by the Department of Agriculture.

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an article entitled "Full Employment—Dream or Possibility," by John W. Scoville, economist, Chrysler Corp., Detroit.

REDUCING THE WORKWEEK

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago I addressed a letter to President Truman requesting that he issue an Executive order that would reduce the workweek to not more than 44 hours, except where public necessity demands, for all Government employees included under the bill that was approved by the House and Senate this week. I hope the President will approve my proposal.

In order to further sustain and strengthen my proposal, I have today

introduced a House joint resolution whereby the Congress would request the President to execute such order and make it effective as of July 1, 1945. I feel very sure this resolution will meet with the approval of the vast majority of Government employees affected by this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I am convinced that very little good or work is accomplished during the last 4 hours of the workweek. It would give the employees a chance to have a few hours off from work, and at the same time will save Government expenses amounting to several hundred million dollars.

I trust the House and Senate will give immediate approval to my resolution.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY, AND RELATED INDEPENDENT AGENCIES APPROPRIATION, 1946

Mr. HARE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H. R. 3199) entitled "An act making appropriations for the Department of Labor, the Federal Security Agency, and related independent agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1946, and for other purposes," with Senate amendments thereto, disagree with the Senate amendments, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none, and appoints the following conferees: Messrs. HARE, TARVER, THOMAS of Texas, KIRWAN, ENGEL of Michigan, KEEFE, and H. CARL ANDERSEN.

THE BUTTER SITUATION

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Speaker, in my district is located the town of Conklin, Mich., which makes a high-grade dairy butter, which we know as Conklin butter. In the district we are able to get but very little butter, and such as we do get is 48 cents a pound. I am told a constituent went into Windsor, Canada, and bought Conklin butter at 38 cents a pound, which was stamped "Lend-lease." Not only that, but butter seems so plentiful they offer a discount of 2 cents on 3 pounds. I ask you, What has Canada got that we have not got?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. ROBERTSON of North Dakota asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial from the St. Paul Farmer, a farm paper. The editorial covers the question of the tenth anniversary of the REA.

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and to include a speech he made at the Nebraska stock growers convention at O'Neill, Nebr.

CARTELS AND GERMANY'S WAR-MAKING POWER

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, on May 21 I addressed the House at some length on the subject of the revival of Germany's war-making potential and the place of cartels in that picture.

This morning in the Post there is an article which recites the testimony of Administrator Leo T. Crowley, of the Foreign Economic Administration, before the Senate committee on this same subject in which he emphasizes many of the same points I made in my speech. I still most earnestly hope for a declaration of policy on the part of the Congress with regard to cartels and the revival of Germany's warmaking potential. I believe if we fail to do this and follow it with appropriate action, we will fail in a more important respect from the point of view of future peace than we would have failed had we made no provision for the punishment of war criminals.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS ON INVESTIGATION OF WAR FOOD ADMINISTRATION

Mr. TARVER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

Mr. TARVER. Mr. Speaker, I have today submitted by direction of the Committee on Appropriations a report of the investigation of the War Food Administration conducted by the Subcommittee on Agriculture Appropriations. The report of the committee and the hearings upon which the report is based are available in the office of the Committee on Appropriations for those who may be interested.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. Speaker, I do commend to all the Members of the Congress the report to which the gentleman from Georgia, Judge TARVER, has just alluded. It is factual, it is restrained, and it constitutes in my judgment a very good job. Incidentally, I want to commend Judge TARVER for the very fair and impartial way in which he conducted the hearings. I think he has made an outstanding contribution and deserves the commendation of the Congress.

FEPC

Mr. WEISS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

[Mr. WEISS addressed the House. His remarks appear in the Appendix.]

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include therein a letter and a statement from Hon. Cordell Hull concerning the San Francisco Conference.

Mr. ROE of Maryland asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include therein an article from the Centerville (Md.) Record on the food shortage.

Mr. WASIELEWSKI asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD on two subject matters and to include a newspaper article in connection with each.

Mr. BIEMILLER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a speech which he made over the radio last Saturday.

Mr. OUTLAND (at the request of Mr. BIEMILLER) was granted permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include certain data on rent control.

Mr. GROSS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an article appearing in the Gettysburg Times on the subject of compulsory military training.

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a letter from the Rotary Club of Anaconda, Mont., and also a copy of the speech given by Hon. Edward R. Stettinius at the closing plenary session of the San Francisco Conference last night.

Mr. CELLER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the Restaurant Advisory Committee and to include certain exhibits the cost of which I am informed by the Public Printer will be \$416.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Notwithstanding and without objection, the request is granted.

There was no objection.

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD concerning the late Lt. Gen. Simon Bolivar Buckner.

THE SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, the signing on yesterday in San Francisco of the charter by 50 nations of the United Nations Conference will cause that to go down as one of the landmarks in the world's history. It is simply marvelous that delegates from 50 countries, speaking different languages, and with different viewpoints, could finally har-

monize their views into a charter of this kind. I think it speaks well for the coming peace of the world.

I especially want to commend the United States delegation, composed of Secretary of State Stettinius and our colleagues, the gentleman from New York [Mr. BLOOM], and the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. EATON], Senator CONNALLY, Senator VANDEBERG, Dean Gildersleeve, and Lieutenant Commander Stassen for the magnificent job they have done. They are entitled to the thanks and gratitude of the American people.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Texas has expired.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, it was my great pleasure in company with the gentleman from Texas, Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON, ranking Democratic member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, and other members of the committee to greet the Secretary of State and his party at the Army transport airfield and to congratulate and commend the work of Mr. Stettinius and other members of our delegation at San Francisco during the postwar conference and its successful outcome. Certainly no one has ever had a more difficult task than has our Secretary of State at San Francisco. With difficulties at home and difficulties out there, he brought into agreement the representatives of 49 other nations. I sincerely congratulate him and commend him. I rejoice that at least a blueprint of a pattern for future peace was drawn at San Francisco. I hope it will succeed and grow and grow until it becomes a strong structure for a real and durable peace. It was my privilege to attend at Mexico City the Inter-American Conference which passed the now famous Chapultepec resolution and which has been recognized as the most successful and harmonious inter-American conference ever held. That conference also was under his leadership. May he always succeed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired.

JURISDICTIONAL DISPUTES AMONG LABOR UNIONS

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks and include certain newspaper articles, to be printed in the Appendix.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

[Mr. HOFFMAN addressed the House. His remarks appear in the Appendix.]

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary be

permitted to sit this afternoon during general debate.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

THE LATE JAMES R. BUCKLEY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. O'BRIEN].

Mr. O'BRIEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, it is my sad duty to announce to the Members the death of one of our former colleagues, the Honorable James R. Buckley, who served the Sixth Congressional District of Illinois, the district I now have the honor to represent, with outstanding ability from March 4, 1923, to March 3, 1925.

Jim, as he was affectionately known to his host of friends was in public life in his home town of Chicago for a number of years before he became a Member of this body. Upon completion of his service here he returned to private life to resume his business connections. And so today it comes about that with a heavy heart I must announce his passing. Personally, I feel his loss keenly, and am sure that all of you who knew him share this feeling.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. KEOGH asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include therein an editorial which appeared in the Brooklyn Eagle on June 23.

RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ADMINISTRATION

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, one of the items that is going to be contested in the pending bill is that for funds for rural electrification for the coming fiscal year. It should be raised to \$160,000,000 at least.

The Rural Electrification Administration asked for \$230,000,000; the Bureau of the Budget cut it down to \$160,000,000; it was reduced by the Subcommittee on Appropriations to \$120,000,000; and I now understand it has been reduced to \$50,000,000 by the full committee.

That is not enough, with what funds we have to meet the demands for rural electrification throughout the country during the coming year.

On yesterday I received a letter from Secretary Wickard on this subject that explains the situation fully. You will find it on page A3068 of the Appendix. I hope you will all familiarize yourselves with it because while we are arguing about UNRRA to do something for somebody abroad, for heaven's sake, let us support this "INRA" and do something for American farmers.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

SECOND DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 3579) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1945, and for prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1945, and June 30, 1946, to provide appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1946, and for other purposes.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 3579, the second deficiency appropriation bill, with Mr. WHITTINGTON in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. By unanimous consent, on yesterday time for debate on the pending bill was fixed at 3 hours; 1 hour and 45 minutes to be controlled by the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] and 1 hour and 15 minutes by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CANNON].

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 15 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Missouri is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, the work of the Committee on Appropriations for the last two Congresses has been exceptional in many respects. The committee has not only reported more bills, carrying larger sums than have ever been reported by an Appropriations Committee of the House or of other legislative body in a like period; it has not only sat more continuously than in previous sessions but it has introduced notable innovations in its procedure, to two of which I desire to call attention at this time.

The first of these is found in the second proviso on page 8 of the bill. It is a reaffirmation and a reenactment of a similar provision, namely, section 303, adopted as a part of the second deficiency bill of 1944. It provides for continuous scrutiny and examination by the Bureau of the Budget of every appropriation, contract, with contractual authorization provided for the support of the war, with the requirement that it shall report at regular intervals to the President any surpluses found in any of these items, and that the President shall, in turn, report them to the Congress with the recommendation that they be repealed.

No provision of this kind has ever been carried in the procedure of any parliamentary body, as far as I am advised, and no provision has ever operated more successfully and more beneficially. Under this requirement the Bureau of the Budget has been in continuous examination of appropriations and has kept all bureaus under constant notice that they were under scrutiny and supervision, and under it the Committee on Appropriations has reported to the House in two bills decisions of appro-

priations and contract authorizations aggregating in excess of \$350,000,000. We have not yet realized the full benefit which eventually will flow from this provision because up to this time, following the established policy of the committee adopted at the beginning of the war, in case of every doubt, we have resolved that doubt in favor of too large an appropriation rather than too small an appropriation. We have preferred to take the risk of providing too much money for arms, ammunition, and armament rather than to run the risk of providing too little and have some American unit in an exposed position without needed ammunition and supplies. Whenever there has been any doubt we have left the money available. Only when we had positive assurance that the money was no longer needed have we brought in bills for repeal. This situation will necessarily obtain until the close of the Japanese war, but promptly upon conclusion of the war in the Pacific area the committee, under the provisions of this requirement, proposes to move promptly upon every agency and to comb every appropriation and contract with the view to returning to the Treasury every dollar that can be salvaged from war expenditures.

The second provision introduced by the committee was in response to criticisms appearing in the press and voiced on the floor, to the effect that the Committee on Appropriations lacked facilities for securing information; that the departments and agencies of Government before the Committee on Appropriations asking for funds were always in an ex parte position and the Committee on Appropriations in no position to sift the merits of their estimates. To meet such criticism or contention, we asked and secured, through action of the House, a resolution providing \$100,000 for the maintenance of a system of investigation which has proved most effective.

Under this system the Committee on Appropriations is authorized to requisition from any department of the Government investigators, accountants, operatives, detectives, physicians, scientists, lawyers, and others, and to use them to inquire into any matter within the jurisdiction of the committee and then return them to their agency, the committee paying the amount of their civil-service salary during the time they were in the service of the committee.

Within the last 2 years no member of the committee, and no Member of the House, has ever indicated his desire to secure information but what we have secured through this system. There has never been any instance in which there has been a request for information within the jurisdiction of the committee that has not been promptly investigated and a complete report submitted to the entire satisfaction of the committee.

The new Secretary of Agriculture who had occasion a few days ago to examine one of the reports which had been secured through this method expressed the utmost satisfaction with the method of conducting the investigation and the materials secured and said that it supplied him with invaluable information which would be of immediate use to him and

which he could have secured in no other way. In all the 2 years of the operation of this system there has never been a criticism of it either from the members of the committee or from the Members of the Congress or from the departments, and under it we have saved vast sums of money for the Treasury.

The chairman of the Subcommittee on the Interior Department reported that on the bill now pending in conference in the Senate, through information secured by this method of investigation, he was able to save \$1,000,000 on one item alone. It has not only saved large sums of money, but it has enabled us to effect better administration in the departments. Through our investigations we have been able to locate points of inefficiency, or inadequacy, and maladministration. In that way we have been able to remedy situations of which we could not have been even apprised but for this method of investigation.

There has been much talk in connection with the special committee appointed to consider the reorganization of the Congress, and one of the questions most frequently raised is some method of providing facilities for securing information for committees and Members of the House. I earnestly recommend that they investigate this system, a system which has answered every need, supplied adequately all information requested, and against which there has not been lodged a single criticism. Invariably the proposals which have been submitted pertaining to such reorganization contemplate the establishment of a permanent staff either in the House or in the General Accounting Office. Let me say that this system now in use is infinitely superior to any such mode of procedure. It has every advantage over a permanent staff. In the first place it is elastic. If 10 committees want to investigate, we can supply anywhere from 10 to 50 investigators, and we can secure them immediately. If one committee wishes to investigate we supply the men and we send the rest home. If you had a permanent staff you would have to have the staff here all the time, and you would have men sitting around here and doing nothing when there were no investigations on, or, when you had a large number of investigations on you would not have a sufficient number of investigators. Whereas under our system you always have the number required and no more. That in itself should be conclusive.

In the second place, we secure men specially qualified for the purpose. If you need a scientist, if you need an accountant, if you need a physician, if you need a detective or any kind of specially qualified investigator, we can select from the different departments of the Government men especially trained for that particular mission. Take the FBI alone. We have there, and in other departments, the finest and the most expert and best-trained operatives to be secured any place in the world.

The men we would have on a permanent staff here in the House would be appointed largely on political grounds and recommendations. An agency that was contemplating that method came to me

and told me that they would appoint two men from my district—any men I wanted to name. Now, that is not the kind of men we want. We want men specially trained, with no personal interest, who come here and do the job and go back to their departments when it is done. They are not men who come up here to serve a political purpose and to keep their jobs running. We have had men up here on the pay roll of special committees who sat here month after month and prolonged their work as long as possible. They had pleasant, air-cooled offices, with every office facility at their command, and getting a good salary, and they naturally wanted to perpetuate it.

They want to make the investigations last as long as possible. We do not do that sort of thing. We go to the Treasury Department or to the Public Health Service or the Department of Agriculture or the FBI or the Department of Justice and we get the best trained men that can be found anywhere in the Nation and bring them up here at their civil-service salary to do the job and then send them back. Their only business and principal anxiety is to get the job done and get back to the department.

If we had a permanent staff close to the members of the committee, they would get their salaries raised every session. They would sit around with their feet on the desk a large part of the time. They would grow old and careless in the service. Everybody down in the Government departments would know them. When they come in the front door word would run throughout the Department, "Here comes that fellow from the House of Representatives. Watch your step."

When we send a man down there we send a new man they have never seen before. They do not know who he is. He walks through and has the information before they know he is there. We send a new man every time. We send a different man every time. There is no comparison with the results secured.

Also, our system is more economical.

When we first started this system, we asked the General Accounting Office to make an estimate of what they would charge us to maintain such a bureau, they sent us a proposed budget of practically \$1,000,000 a year. We have done this work on less than \$50,000 a year. We have men equally as good certainly, and we get better service. No one has ever criticized the service. No one has ever found our reports inadequate.

There are many other reasons which could be given. But I cannot take the time. I earnestly hope all who are interested in securing such a service to consider well the advantages of our system. It is not theoretical. It is not an experiment. It has been in force for 2 years. It has answered every need.

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? What agency told the gentleman it would take \$1,000,000 a year to do the work?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. The General Accounting Office.

Mr. COCHRAN. I remember sitting in on a meeting, together with the gentleman and the Comptroller General, on

the question of setting up the investigating agency in the General Accounting Office, and that gentleman told you as he told me that it would take \$275,000 a year.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. We had them submit a detailed budget. It amounted to almost a million dollars a year. And that was only the beginning.

Mr. COCHRAN. Now, what the gentleman's committee has really done is to assume the jurisdiction of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments. I think if you are going to continue this practice you should go to the Committee on Rules and have them transfer to your committee the jurisdiction that now lies with the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments to make these investigations. You have assumed the jurisdiction of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments which was set up in this House about 15 years ago. I have been a member of that committee ever since it was set up. We could never get anything out of the Committee on Rules to enable us to make these investigations. I did not happen to be here when the resolution was brought in by the gentleman to set up this agency in the Committee on Appropriations. But what the Committee on Appropriations is doing is assuming the jurisdiction of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, just exactly as you did on the legislative appropriation bill where you assumed the jurisdiction of the Committee on Accounts.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. I regret that I must differ with my colleague, the gentleman from Missouri. We are not taking over the jurisdiction of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments to which the gentleman refers, and which has jurisdiction over all investigations. In the English House of Commons it is the most important committee in that body. We are exercising jurisdiction only over appropriations. We do not go outside of that. I tell you what we are doing, my friends, we are saving millions of dollars every year. We are getting all information our members want or that any Member of the House wants. Now who criticizes that? What is wrong about that? What is wrong about saving money? I thoroughly agree with the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. COCHRAN] but this committee to which he refers ought to function. Why has it not functioned? The Committee on Appropriations has not interfered.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CANNON] has again expired.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 20 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, this bill involves a total reappropriations and new appropriations, of approximately \$5,500,000,000; a little over \$3,000,000,000 in direct appropriations, and \$2,500,000,000, or almost that, in reappropriations.

It contains a great many items that are subject to criticism.

Mr. PITTENGER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield.

Mr. PITTENGER. Has it got an item for OPA?

Mr. TABER. Oh, yes; for \$174,000,000. That is \$6,000,000 below the Budget estimates. On the other hand, as I understand, it is about \$12,000,000 above the current year's appropriation.

They tell us they are in great difficulties, but the reason they are in difficulties is because they have a lot of impractical people down there and have not followed the requirement that was placed upon them by legislation that was passed by the Congress, to put practical business people in there to do business, and because they are running around in their enforcement activity, racketeering and doing things that were absolutely unconscionable.

You will remember the story that was in the local paper last week how they tried to prosecute a lawyer who had 10 or 12 cases against the OPA right here in the District of Columbia. If I remember rightly his name was O'Connell, because they claimed he had not filed proper papers with reference to some property he was renting. They found out that not only had he filed them but he submitted a letter, of which he had a copy. They went into court and he had to force them to trial to get rid of it.

Then we can remember this prosecution of the Hecht Co., where the OPA admitted that the Hecht Co. could not possibly have complied with their regulations, and that they had spent over \$300,000 trying to comply and still were unable.

Now, that is just a sample. Their rent persecutions have been quite considerable. I was in one place and was led by a friend of mine to a house where the OPA had, by dilatory tactics in court, kept the landlord out of possession of the House for 3 or 4 months, where they had torn the stove all to pieces, torn the bannister off the stairway and burned it up, and all that sort of thing. Still the OPA had gone into court and wanted time and money that was appropriated to the OPA for the proper enforcement of the law. That is the reason we get so little cooperation on the part of the public—because they do so much racketeering.

Mr. PITTENGER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield.

Mr. PITTENGER. Do I understand the gentleman that if anyone criticizes the OPA or any of their agents they immediately start an investigation of the party to see if they can find some irregularity on his part in some other endeavor?

Mr. TABER. I do not know; I just cited a couple of cases; that is all I have done.

Mr. PITTENGER. Has the Committee on Appropriations given attention to these practices and the fact that the money that is appropriated is going to be used for purposes of such investigation?

Mr. TABER. I have felt that it was necessary for me to do so. When the motion was offered to cut it I therefore voted for that motion.

Now in the field of prices, they do not put out prices in time so that they can be effective. They do not put prices out that have been properly analyzed. They have kept the rent picture in such shape that it is absolutely impossible for people to build houses with private funds and operate them. They have refused properly to price things that factories want to start to make so that the factories can operate and not lose money. Somebody came in here the other day when the OPA bill was up and said that a manufacturer ought to be willing to go ahead and lose money. Let me tell you that the small manufacturers are all going out of business when it comes to operating a plant and losing money. Some great big factory that made a lot of war profits and has a lot of excess profits tax returns coming to them might survive, but no small plant is going to be able to go into business unless it is given a fair chance to operate at a profit. Nobody can do it. I believe that is one of the most serious situations we have to contend with in the OPA at the present time. If they continue in the course they have presently outlined they are going to prevent reconversion and they are going to prevent the reemployment of our people. I do not like to see that done but unless this Congress and the public generally insist upon an honest administration of that law we are going to have a lot of trouble; it is going to prevent reconversion absolutely.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. RICH. Yesterday I received a letter from one of my constituents, a meat packer. He has quite a number of employees and does quite a business—or he did. He said that last month they went in the red over \$5,100; and he asked how long he could keep that up.

OPA has strangled this meat packer so he cannot continue in business. Now he asks how long it will be before he will have to stop and close up his shop. That is the question small business people the country over are thinking about because of Government red tap and regulations.

Mr. TABER. We have spent our time providing loans for small business which most of them do not need, but we have throttled small business by the wild crazy operations of the OPA. I do not know how we are going to stop it; frankly, we cannot stop it by the type of legislation that the Congress can enact. The only way it can be stopped is through proper administration, and that we have never had in the OPA.

The OPA regulations with reference to clothing are wild. They talk about prices not going up. Anybody who has been to a store or market knows a great deal better than to believe that. The other day my wife told me about finding a cheap cotton dress priced at \$29.50 that 3 years ago she used to buy for \$8.50. Everything of that character is in about the same category. They have done worse with the low-priced stuff than they have with the high-priced because they have forced the low-priced stuff off the

market by strict regulations and strict prices.

I know of a shoe factory that has been obliged to close. They made a cheaper grade of shoe. They were in trouble because the people demanded a little higher grade of shoe and when they put better stuff in they could not get an increase in price that compared with the extra cost of the better stuff. That has put them where they cannot do business. That is the way the whole thing is operating. That is the way the whole thing is operated.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. RICH. The OPA froze prices in 1941 for a period and those prices are still in existence for the old-line manufacturers. I know a manufacturer who sold garments at \$3.50 wholesale, which retailed for \$6.50. The OPA permitted new manufacturers to come in and manufacture a garment which is less valuable than that and they are allowed to retail them for \$9. Just because it was a new manufacturer starting in business and making something new that he had never made before he may ask \$9 for the garment that the other manufacturer who has been in business for years can only ask \$6.50 for.

Mr. TABER. That is not a fair way to do business.

Mr. RICH. That is according to the OPA regulations.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I have covered the OPA as far as I am going to be able to do so today.

There are items in here for housing, and continuing the funds already available, about \$30,000,000 or probably a little more, by reappropriating those funds. This housing outfit has gone ahead and built housing that was not needed, it has built housing that was not well enough built so that it could be used. There have been some situations that they should have stepped into, but there are many situations that they stepped into that the local people would have taken care of if they had kept out of there. The way they have operated has been a menace to the whole housing situation throughout the Nation.

There is an item in here for community facilities. There are Federal contributions all over the country for that purpose. The information I get about the way that is operated is that these people are insisting upon about twice as much money being spent as should be spent on these things and that it costs twice as much to operate as if it were done locally, which is one of the curses of Federal contribution. The longer we continue that kind of business the worse shape the country will be in.

Mr. Chairman, I want to speak for a little while about this lend-lease situation. There has been appropriated altogether, including the amounts made available in the war bill passed yesterday, approximately \$65,000,000 that can be used for this purpose. Of that amount \$28,222,498 was appropriated directly by the Congress to the Lend-Lease Administration under the President. The other

amount, \$37,000,000,000, was appropriated to the War and Navy Departments, and there were some items, I expect, got into the picture through the War Shipping Administration. They will have in direct appropriations on the first of July about \$6,500,000,000 in cash left and they will have outstanding approximately \$4,000,000,000 of obligations, according to the figures they gave us. Out of that \$4,000,000,000 of obligations there probably will be about half delivered and the other half will not have been delivered, so that with the amount carried in this bill as it stands now they will have available to ship out of the direct appropriations the carry-over and the obligations, approximately \$6,400,000,000 to the different countries.

How that will be divided and how it will go, it is absolutely impossible to tell. May I say here that they brought in a program of how they proposed to use \$4,300,000,000, but they brought in no program that showed the requirements of these other countries in any way or how they would build up to the \$6,400,000,000 of goods that they will deliver with the money that is carried in this bill.

The only way that we can make any operation here is on faith. This operation was handled for a long time very loosely. It was impossible to tell very much about it. I think that with the advent of Leo Crowley as Lend-Lease Administrator there has been some order in connection with it. I think what statements we were able to get directly from Mr. Crowley have been in fairly good shape, although they have not presented a justification for what they propose that they would have available to ship; in other words, they will have available to ship practically six and one-half billion dollars, and they are asking for \$4,375,000,000 in cash and reappropriations. They justify the \$4,375,000,000, but they do not justify or indicate what they are going to do with the other \$2,000,000,000 worth of goods that is going out.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. RICH. Take this money that we are appropriating for lend-lease, how long are we going to continue lend-lease in the European countries, especially those countries who are not interested in aiding us in fighting the battle of the Pacific? When will it stop?

Mr. TABER. I hope it will stop pretty quick. I think that this lend-lease operation ought to wind up as soon as we can get our troops out of France, Holland, and Belgium and the rest of the European theatre, except insofar as those countries are contributing to the Japanese war.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 10 additional minutes.

Insofar as the other countries are concerned, with reference to the countries that are not participating in the Japanese war, I hope that the operation will be wound up very promptly. I can

see that there are a great many cases where we have not yet gotten our troops out of a country and where, perhaps, we are under some obligation to carry on.

Frankly, it was very difficult to get any satisfactory answers out of a great many of the people who were connected with the lend-lease outfit. Mr. Cox, Deputy Administrator, was very evasive. He would make a statement that he would have to take back after further questioning. He is a smart lawyer, and he ought to know better than to handle himself in that way. The situation is exceedingly difficult, and the only bright spot on the whole horizon is what intelligent administration we might get out of the picture by Mr. Crowley.

I have some tables here indicating the total amount that has been shipped out of this country down to the 30th of April. I am not going to put the detail of it in the RECORD. It runs practically forty billion of delivered goods, leaving about \$25,000,000,000 appropriated but not delivered. How much of that \$25,000,000,000 will be delivered I would not want to say, but probably \$20,000,000,000 out of \$25,000,000,000 is for war implements and munitions and that sort of thing, and it is impossible to tell how much of that might be delivered to other countries until the operations in the field show what has been done.

The \$20,000,000,000 in the war item probably will not be delivered as rapidly as has been the case in the past year. The total deliveries last year were something like \$12,000,000,000, if I remember correctly. I would not expect the deliveries to equal that this coming year. Of course, the largest amount goes to the British Empire. Last year, that is in this current fiscal year, there was delivered to Russia about nine and one-half billion dollars. There was delivered a small amount comparatively to China and smaller amounts to other countries. It is a very difficult situation. On the other hand, there is not any sense in Congress appropriating more money than could possibly be used on that kind of activity.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield.

Mr. RICH. As I understand the term "lend-lease" it means we either lend it to foreign countries or lease it to them. If that is the interpretation of lend-lease then what obligations have those countries given us for what we have loaned them or leased to them?

Mr. TABER. I do not think there have been any substantial obligations entered into by any other country with reference to repayment. There are some but not too many.

Mr. RICH. Then that is a misnomer, is it not?

Mr. TABER. Well the word "give" is in the list of verbs that relate to the operation of the proposition.

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield.

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. Will not the gentleman agree with me that from the very first time this pseudo or so-called lend-lease was brought to

life it has been generally known by every Member of the House of Representatives that there never was any intent to collect any part of it, to either get back what we loaned or to collect for the things that we gave?

Mr. TABER. I do not think anybody ever expected any of these countries to repay us for anything which was used in the war effort. I never had any idea that there would be. On the other hand, there have been some counter operations. That is, the other countries have contributed something toward our war effort. The countries that have so contributed very largely have been Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and one or two of the other small countries. The French and Belgians and Dutch are paying or are expected to pay back a considerable part of what is turned over to them at this time.

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. I have had a report from the Treasury Department within the last 3 or 4 weeks which shows that 18 of the nations to whom we loaned our money following the First World War, which nations repudiated all of their debts to us, are today in arrears \$14,500,000,000. It has been proposed that we lend our money to various nations with whom we have been allied during this war in order to enable them to rehabilitate their industries, and so forth. I want to say for the RECORD that it is my opinion that history will repeat itself, and that any money we lend to them for that or any other purpose will not be repaid, just as the loans which we made to them following the First World War, when we loaned them billions upon billions of dollars, were also not repaid. Because if there is anything that has been demonstrated it is the fact that if we make these loans to foreign countries we must not expect repayment because there will be no repayment.

Mr. TABER. I do not think we will have any loans paid back to us. That has never been the record of any governmental loan, and it just gets us into a worse position with those peoples. The worst thing we did after the last war was to permit loans to be made to certain people who spent their money on building armaments rather than raising their own standards of living and getting themselves fixed up. Now we have got to be very careful how we proceed on any loans this time or we will get into the same trouble and indirectly result in arming some other country to make trouble for us. I think that is something we must guard against very carefully as we go. We must not expect that any money is going to be paid back to us except what is paid on current turn-overs, just like we were in the grocery business. That is about the only way we can get anything back.

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. I agree entirely with what the gentleman says we should and should not do, but I think while probably it is necessary for these countries to have much money in order to rehabilitate themselves—

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself one additional minute.

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. The point I want to make is this, that while they are borrowing money, is there any reason in the world why they should not get the money they need from their own people, exactly as we have to get our money, not only for our own needs, but for everything we have done for these other people? As a result of that policy we are faced with a debt of more than \$300,000,000,000. It is a debt that is greater than all the debts of all of our allies combined.

Mr. TABER. The trouble is, if we create any more debt on our people to hand out to these other people and they are not given the idea that they have to take care of themselves and do their own rehabilitation job with such help as they can get from German prisoners and that sort of thing, we are going to create a situation where we will have the ill will instead of the good will of those countries.

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. All of which indicates that if we do those things we will mark ourselves as utterly incapable of properly safeguarding the resources and the welfare of the people of this country.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has again expired.

Mr. TABER. I yield myself one additional minute in order to yield to the gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. STEFAN. Will the gentleman please tell the House how much new money we are appropriating in this deficiency bill for lend-lease?

Mr. TABER. The way the bill stands now, it is \$1,975,000,000. I understand there is to be an amendment offered that would raise it \$500,000,000. What is going to happen, I do not know.

Mr. STEFAN. What is the total lend-lease up to this time?

Mr. TABER. The total appropriations prior to this date are \$65,000,000,000. That is rough. It may be \$100,000,000 either way.

Mr. STEFAN. The \$40,000,000,000 you have been referring to were deliveries?

Mr. TABER. Those were deliveries down through the 30th of April, to other countries.

Mr. STEFAN. And what was the \$25,000,000,000?

Mr. TABER. That is the balance of the appropriation that has been made that has not yet been delivered.

Mr. STEFAN. What is the use appropriating additional funds?

Mr. TABER. Because 25 of that is in the War and Navy Departments, and is not available here, and of the other \$5,000,000,000 and more, \$4,000,000,000 is obligated.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has again expired.

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 13 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. COCHRAN].

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Chairman, again we hear the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, my colleague the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CANNON] tell the House of the great work that is being

done by the investigators of his committee. On several occasions he has made speeches along that line. I think it would be well for some of the investigators of the Appropriations Committee to be assigned to make a little investigation of the Appropriations Committee to determine why that committee continues to assume jurisdiction of other committees of this House, and when they propose to stop it.

The rules of the House provide that jurisdiction over the character of investigations being made by the Appropriations Committee lies with the Committee on Expenditures.

Since January 3 this year this House has created 25 investigating committees, and the members of those investigating committees have been traveling all over the world.

They have not been confining themselves to the continental United States but they have been traveling all over the world making investigations; a great majority of them are investigating expenditures. The authority for that resulted from the Rules Committee bringing in resolutions and the House passing them. I was opposed to all such special committees.

Now, I have something else I want to talk about. It so happens that when I was in the hospital a few weeks ago this House passed the legislative appropriation bill. In that bill as it went to the President there were 14 items each and every one of them normally subject to a point of order that were put in that appropriation bill without any authorization at all from the committee having jurisdiction, the Committee on Accounts. In order to get one paragraph in that bill considered, and that was the paragraph that extended to the Members of the House an expense account of \$2,500, the Appropriations Committee went to the Rules Committee and secured a rule waiving points of order on that bill, not only waiving the point of order in reference to the \$2,500, but also waiving all points of order on the bill. That, however, would not have prevented me or any other Member if he had desired from opposing the increases in salaries and the creation of new positions that the Appropriations Committee had placed in the bill. I always felt as chairman of the Accounts Committee that I had a distinct understanding with the chairman of the legislative Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee that no legislation would go into that bill unless passed upon by the Committee on Accounts.

Hidden in that bill—I say hidden—were items increasing salaries and creating positions. For instance, the Appropriations Committee took pretty good care of itself. It increased some of the salaries of the employees of the Appropriations Committee but it likewise struck out the figure "4" and inserted in lieu thereof the figure "12", which created 8 additional positions, thus adding 8 new stenographers.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COCHRAN. I yield.

Mr. RICH. Have not the Congress and the administration been creating posi-

tion after position, after position for the last 10 or 12 years?

Mr. COCHRAN. That is true, but is no excuse for what I complain of.

Mr. RICH. Until now we have three and one-half million Government employees where we used to have but 500,000 before the administration came into power.

Mr. COCHRAN. I am talking about something else.

Mr. RICH. But the whole thing works out to the result that instead of the taxpayers of this country having a modest Government to get along with they have an over-burdening Government and it is going to break the backs of the taxpayers of this country; they are not able to bear it.

Mr. COCHRAN. I think the gentleman from Pennsylvania should agree with me because the Appropriations Committee ran roughshod over him as well as they did over me, as he is a member of the Committee on Accounts.

When the bill reached the floor, amendments were offered from the floor. I was greatly surprised to have several Members I spoke to when I came back tell me that a point of order would not lie against those amendments because of the rule. Anyone who knows anything about the parliamentary procedure of the House knows that a rule waiving points of order against items in a bill does not apply to amendments offered from the floor; and if any Member of the House had made a point of order against those amendments that were offered from the floor they would have been sustained. Had I been here I would have made a point of order against each one of them and when the bill was under consideration I also would have opposed the items that were placed in the bill by the Appropriations Committee that were protected by the rule. An amendment to strike out would have been in order. No point of order was made; and to my astonishment the amendments even offered from the floor were passed. They were uncalled for, and the action has ruined the morale of the personnel of the House of Representatives. Since that bill passed have had hundreds of requests from chairmen of committees and employees wanting to know why if the Congress should take care of certain individuals they should not take care of the others.

The legislative riders on the legislative appropriation bill for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1946, were the provision granting an expense allowance of \$2,500 to each Member; an increase for two reading clerks and a tally clerk of \$2,000 each; an increase of \$500 for the assistant enrolling clerk; an increase of \$1,400 for the assistant tally clerk; increasing the number of stenographers for the Committee on Appropriations from 4 to 12; increasing the salary of the superintendent of the folding room \$420; increasing the salaries of two floor managers of telephones \$300; increasing the number of pages from 47 to 50, and increasing the salaries of all pages from \$4 to \$5 per day; increasing the salary of one minority employee \$450; increasing the salary of the legislative clerk to the

majority floor leader \$300; increasing the salary of the clerk to the minority conference \$300. The argument of other employees of the House is sound. Those increases should have rested until either the Monroney committee brought in its report or the whole subject of the personnel of the Congress was taken up by the Accounts Committee.

Mr. Chairman, one of the amendments offered on the floor provided for the raising of the salaries of certain employees at the desk. We now have three reading clerks. We formerly had two, but on account of the illness of one we created a temporary position of assistant reading clerk. An amendment was offered raising the salaries of two reading clerks from \$5,000 to \$7,000 and the other one from \$3,500 to \$5,000. In addition, pursuant to the bill we passed last week, now, at the White House, there will be an addition to those salaries of around \$800 making two of the reading clerks' salaries \$7,800, and the other one \$5,800 or \$5,900. Two of the reading clerks have only been here 2 or 3 years. Prior to their appointment they were not getting \$3,000, yet you have raised their salaries until now they are above two of the elective officials of this House, the Doorkeeper and Postmaster.

An amendment was offered on the floor raising the salaries of the pages, but nothing was done for the veterans on the doors who are working as doorkeepers and who, in many instances, have control over pages. The veterans are married, some of them disabled, but you did nothing for them. They have a right to complain and demand that something be done for them.

There is only one individual at the desk who was recognized who is entitled to an increase in salary, and he was going to get it. The Accounts Committee had already indicated it was willing to give him a raise. I refer to the assistant tally clerk. That man has been carrying the whole load for over 2 years, due to the sickness of the tally clerk. I regret to say word just reaches us the senior tally clerk, Hans Jurgensen, died this morning.

Last Saturday we had six roll calls. There were three reading clerks calling the roll, but you had only this man tallying the result. Out of all the roll calls there was not one mistake, which proves his efficiency, and I feel he is entitled to an increase in salary.

In the old days when a man had to be able to throw his voice from one corner of this hall to the other, we had to have men as reading clerks that you could not pick up every day, but with this loud-speaker system, by which the attendant in the gallery can throw your voice from one end of this hall to the other, no matter how low you speak, reading clerks are not hard to obtain. Formerly one had to take an examination, a test, to get that job. All you have to be able to do now to be a reading clerk is to be able to read the English language. If you can do that, you can be a reading clerk of this House. They do nothing at that desk other than what they are told to do. It is the Parliamentarian who tells them what to do.

Mr. Chairman, as long as I am here every time an opportunity presents itself, when an amendment is germane to the legislation I am going to offer an amendment to put those salaries back where they belong because it is absolutely foolish to pay the salaries provided in the legislative bill.

I wanted to go over the personnel of the House of Representatives and consider giving additional assistance to all committees of the House needing it and paying our employees in keeping with the raises that have been secured by Government employees in the executive branch. But I have not had the green light. I do not want to bring in a bill unless I know that the majority and minority are both going to support it. I am waiting for the report of the Monroney committee to see what it recommends. For instance you had most important legislation here the other day from the Banking and Currency Committee. Important legislation has been coming out of that committee right along, yet the basic salary of the clerk of that committee is only \$2,790. The clerk of that committee works 12 and 14 hours a day as do clerks of other major committees, while the employees of this House on an average all the year round do not work over 4 hours a day. You have any number of other committees whose clerks receive less than \$3,500 basic salaries, I repeat what I said that whenever the opportunity comes, and an amendment will be germane to legislation, I am going to try to undo part of what was done here about 2 weeks ago.

Now here is a situation I call to your attention. I went before the Committee on Appropriations and told them about what happened in the Senate. The Senate raised the salaries of the policemen on the Senate roll. There was no corresponding increase for the members of the Capitol police on the House roll. They are all working under the same captain and under the same lieutenants. They are working side by side and doing the same work. So I called my committee together and they gave clearance for an authorization to be put on this bill to equalize that salary. In all it will amount to \$12,500. I think it should be done. I am going to offer the amendment. But I am going to advise the House that it is subject to a point of order, and if any one wants to make the point of order, make it. And I will further advise the House that if any other amendment is offered to this bill under the heading of "House of Representatives" that is not authorized by law, I am going to make a point of order against it.

I can bring in a privileged resolution equalizing the pay of the police and pay it out of the contingent fund of the House, but if I do you will have to have two separate pay rolls, two separate bookkeeping accounts, and you will have to give them two checks; one from the Treasury and one out of the contingent fund of the House. The easiest way for you to do it, after it has been authorized by the Committee on Accounts, is to put it on this bill. But I am telling you in advance, if you want to make the point of order, you can make it. It is subject

to a point of order. I want to play fair with you.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COCHRAN. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. RICH. I would not agree to anything like that, because for 10 years you have been duplicating all these things, and that is what I want to get away from. I want to know who voted for this increase that you have been talking about. Where did you get the votes?

Mr. COCHRAN. The gentleman must have voted for it. I did not, because I was in the hospital. Further, the gentleman is talking about something else.

Mr. RICH. I voted "no."

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. TARVER].

Mr. TARVER. Mr. Chairman, there is included in the pending bill a provision of four and one-half million dollars to make effective the authorization contained in the Bankhead-Flannagan Act recently enacted by the Congress for additional funds for the Extension Service. I supported the Bankhead-Flannagan Act. I am one of those who is very deeply interested in the work of the Extension Service, but I think it my duty to call the attention of the House to certain facts with relation to this appropriation as related to the appropriation carried in the Agricultural Appropriation Act for 1946, for emergency funds for the Extension Service, those emergency funds having been appropriated to the War Food Administration for transfer to the Extension Service. The amount of that appropriation was \$2,708,530. It was not authorized by law. It was not supported by a Budget recommendation. But as chairman of the Subcommittee on Agricultural Appropriations, I felt upon the basis of the evidence which had been submitted before our subcommittee that that additional provision for the Extension Service should be made and the subcommittee agreed. However, subsequent to the enactment of the Agricultural Appropriation Act of 1946, the Bankhead-Flannagan Act was enacted proposing an additional authorization for the next fiscal year for this work of four and one-half million dollars. It was, to my mind, manifest that the Extension Service would not require the additional four and one-half million dollars and at the same time utilize the \$2,708,530 which had been carried as an emergency matter in the Agricultural Appropriation Act for 1946.

I, therefore, took up the matter with Mr. M. L. Wilson, head of the Extension Service, who agreed with my conclusions in the matter and who said that he could not, in his judgment, effectively use in excess of \$7,000,000 more money for the Extension Service, although he did hope to be able to use effectively \$4,500,000 authorized by the Bankhead-Flannagan Act.

Subsequently, when some controversy arose as to his position regarding the subject matter, I had occasion to contact him again in order to be assured that I had not misunderstood his posi-

tion, and I was again assured by him that there would be no necessity for the use of the \$2,708,530 except as to a possible amount of \$150,000 which might be utilized in Puerto Rico and in connection with victory gardens. In order to be sure there is no misunderstanding concerning this matter, I have secured under date of yesterday from Mr. Wilson a letter stating his position, which letter I secured permission on yesterday from the House to insert in the RECORD at this point in connection with my remarks and which I shall insert in full:

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT
OF AGRICULTURE,
June 26, 1945.

HON. MALCOLM C. TARVER,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Agriculture
Department, Committee on Appropriations,
House of Representatives

DEAR MR. TARVER: In response to your inquiry regarding our telephone conversation concerning the use of emergency War Food moneys in relation to funds made available under the Bankhead-Flannagan Act, I beg to state the following:

1. It has been my understanding that the State directors of extension are anxious to get started on the basis of using the funds available under the Bankhead-Flannagan Act for the fiscal year 1946. We think this wise policy.

2. Since we have had available \$4,070,000 during the current fiscal year for emergency War Food work, most State extension directors will make an adjustment whereby the regular money will be substituted for the emergency money that has been received during the current fiscal year.

3. Additional personnel of a competent character is difficult to secure. There are approximately 1,500 county agents and extension workers who are now in the armed forces. A considerable number of these are in the upper age group, and we anticipate that many of them will be available during the coming year.

4. Some confusion has arisen out of the language in the Bankhead-Flannagan Act: "The sums appropriated pursuant to this section shall be in addition to and not in substitution for sums appropriated under such act of May 8, 1914, as amended and supplemented, or sums otherwise appropriated for agricultural extension work." Some of the State directors of extension and others have interpreted this to mean that the \$4,500,000 was in addition to the regular appropriations and the funds made available to the War Food Administrator to be allocated by him.

We hope that the amount made available to the War Food Administrator, to be used if a future emergency requires, to be allocated by him to the Extension Service for the coming fiscal year will remain available, but it is our judgment that only a very modest sum will be needed unless special conditions arise that have not been considered thus far.

As we see it now, \$150,000 of this emergency money will be needed. Under the Bankhead-Flannagan Act no money is available for Puerto Rico. We recommend allotting Puerto Rico \$60,000 of War Food emergency funds for the fiscal year 1946. It is our judgment that \$90,000 will be needed for special activities in connection with Victory gardens, War Food preservation, and special postwar agricultural programs by the Federal Extension Service in its cooperative work with the States and in special State activities in this field.

Sincerely,
M. L. WILSON,
Director of Extension Work.

Mr. TARVER. You will observe from this letter that Mr. Wilson states that

only \$150,000 of this \$2,708,000 plus provided in the Agricultural Appropriation Act of 1946 will be needed.

I have placed the letter in the RECORD for the purpose of placing before the Congress at the time it enacts the pending bill this statement from the Director of the Extension Service. I wish to state in this connection that our Subcommittee on Agricultural Appropriations and the Congress in the passage of the pending measure has the right to rely upon this statement and to believe that not more than \$150,000 of these emergency funds carried in the Agricultural Appropriation Act for 1946 will be used. In my judgment, the matter ought to have been more definitely handled. The emergency appropriation ought to have been canceled or at least all of it except the \$150,000; or the pending appropriation ought to be reduced by an amount equal to the amount not needed of the emergency fund. But I believe that the administrative people having charge of this program will carry out the statements which are made in the letter of Mr. Wilson and that its insertion in the RECORD as indicative of the Department's position in the matter will be sufficient to assure no more of the \$2,708,530 will be used than the \$150,000 to which reference is made in his letter.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WIGGLESWORTH].

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Chairman, in my remarks with reference to the war agencies appropriation bill I called attention to the fact that the bill carrying \$770,000,000 and was marked up by the committee in 2 hours and 35 minutes. It was marked up in the absence of printed hearings and in the absence of four majority members of the committee whose places were taken by two other members of the majority who had not heard a word of the evidence in the hearings.

That record, Mr. Chairman, has been eclipsed in connection with this bill which carries not \$700,000,000 but \$5,534,000,000. This bill being marked up by the committee in 1 hour and 30 minutes by the clock. It was marked up in the absence of printed hearings and in the absence of important material requested from two major agencies. The marking up began within 20 minutes after the conclusion of the hearings, despite the request of the minority for a reasonable time to consider the material. It was marked up so fast that four or five items were completely overlooked, were not passed upon by the committee, and were later inserted in the bill presumably by the chairman of the committee after the committee had adjourned.

Mr. Chairman, I do not think that this type of consideration is the type of consideration desired by this House. I do not think it is the type of consideration to which the country is entitled.

This bill is the last appropriation bill of the year. It carries not only \$3,134,000,000 in direct appropriations, but something over \$2,400,000,000 in reappropriations. The committee action reflects a cut of \$17,400,000, or about one-half of 1 percent.

If time permits, I shall comment briefly on three or four items included in the bill.

OFFICE OF PRICE ADMINISTRATION

The Office of Price Administration, as you will note, requests an appropriation of \$180,500,000. That, on a comparable basis, is about \$18,500,000 more than the Office of Price Administration had for the current year, which was \$10,000,000 more than the appropriation for the preceding year. It represents an increase of over 5,000 man-years. It represents an increase of more than \$5,800,000 in the other obligations of the agency.

It contemplates paid workers to a total of 67,897, and, in addition, volunteer workers to a total of 205,000, or a total over-all force of 272,897 people.

When you look at the offices that the request contemplates you find 1 office here in Washington, 9 regional offices, 93 district offices, 4 territorial offices, 283 area rent offices, 219 branch rent offices, 437 rent stations, and 5,600 local boards, a total of 6,646 offices.

The enormous cost of this agency is emphasized by the fact that the record indicates the administrative expenditure

on price control and rationing in Great Britain is something over \$28,000,000.

The committee has reduced the request \$6,000,000, providing \$12,500,000 above the current year appropriation.

You will find an increase in respect to price control of 190 positions; with respect to rationing of 228 positions; with respect to rent control of 815 positions; and substantial increases in the enforcement division, in the local boards, and in the other obligations of the agency.

You will find that the request includes a staff of 14 for congressional correspondence; a staff of 7 for congressional and executive aids; some 417 economists, 819 attorneys, and some 15 special projects to be carried on by other agencies, some of them to my mind of questionable value.

The report indicates that the agency has been engaged in such activities as investigating postwar employment, taking a census to see how many people think rationing should be continued after the war, and various other Gallup polls, a list of which I insert at this point in the RECORD:

Information department surveys, July 1, 1944, to May 10, 1945

Survey subject matter	Date	Conducted by	Cost
Survey of gasoline filling-station proprietors on knowledge of gasoline-supply situation and reasons for rationing of gasoline.	November 1944	National Opinion Research Center, Denver and New York.	\$301.83
Survey of 1,800 grocers on extent and sources of information about OPA regulations with particular reference to the OPA trade bulletins.	.....do.....	National Opinion Research Center (interviewing).	3,489.69
		(Bureau of Labor Statistics tabulation).	1,518.30
Radio audience surveys to determine extent and character of audiences for Bowles and district director broadcasts for purpose of (a) evaluating these informational activities and (b) guiding preparation of scripts.	.....do.....	Special Surveys Division, Bureau of the Census.	606.32
Consumers' compliance survey—3870, housewives—on rationing, rent, and enforcement items designed to (a) check the effects of general and specific informational, enforcement, and other programs operated in past 6-month period, (b) provide an informed basis for similar programs in coming period, (c) provide a basis for evaluating various operations in different localities and give a basis for improved internal organization and direction.	February-March 1945.	National Opinion Research Center, Denver and New York.	9,773.00
Survey of gasoline filling-station proprietors on knowledge of gasoline-supply situation and reasons for rationing of gasoline.	March 1945.....	.....do.....	1,600.00

¹ Estimated.

You will find also an enormous informational set-up, 545 people, costing \$2,600,000, with a complete Editorial Division and a complete Radio Division.

Mr. CURTIS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I yield.

Mr. CURTIS. The gentleman is speaking now of the Office of Price Administration?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I am.

Mr. CURTIS. What does the gentleman mean by "informational force"? What is the difference between that and a Government propaganda agency?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Well, it is used for all kinds of publicity. I wish the gentleman would look at pages 126 to 129 of the hearings and read the list of the so-called informational activities during the past fiscal year. I think it is the most expansive presentation of that kind I have ever seen presented to the Congress by any agency of the Government. I include the statement at this point in the RECORD.

Public support, based on full information, is necessary if the Office of Price Administration is to carry out its program of action,

both as to holding prices at legal ceilings and fairly distributing available supplies of war-scarce commodities.

A well-planned series of information programs, reaching all the people through all available media, is of vital importance in getting understanding and compliance from the public. Such programs must be flexible, because of the changes that occur from time to time in the Office of Price Administration's programs and problems.

The Department of Information is operated on the principle that factual material explaining the "why" as well as the "how" of the Office of Price Administration actions should be the basis of its activities.

This factual material is distributed through the Office of Price Administration facilities in Washington and in the field, through facilities of the Office of War Information and other cooperating agencies, through groups and organizations, through the media made available by publishers, radio stations, outdoor advertisers and others, and through the business organizations cooperating to carry out the Office of Price Administration administrative programs in various fields.

Radio time and much of the space and materials used are provided as public services without charge to the Government. In other instances, the Department of Information provides printed material and services to utilize other facilities, such as billboard

space which is contributed through the Office of War Information.

Continuing programs have been carried through the year on stabilization of prices in various fields. Others have been added to meet new programs and new problems, such as those in clothing and meat prices. Rationing has been a continuing information program in respect to each of the rationed goods, with special efforts required to spread information about changes from time to time. Information disseminated on Office of Price Administration enforcement activities has been aimed at deterring potential violators.

The Department of Information has increased emphasis on the dissemination of information through local people in each community through volunteer workers in the war price and rationing boards, and has provided fact sheets and other materials for their use.

A list of major information activities of the Department during the current fiscal year (July 1, 1944–June 30, 1945) follows:

Press releases: To inform the public and the trade about Office of Price Administration actions and explain its price, rationing, rent, and enforcement activities, 2,030 press releases were written by the national office staff and released to the press through the Office of War Information in Washington during the first 10 months of the fiscal year, July 1944 through April 1945.

These national office press releases also were issued to the local press and to weekly papers through the field information staff of the Office of Price Administration. The national office staff also prepared several hundred press releases specifically for local release through the field information staff.

In addition, each week a total of about 7,000 individual trade associations, trade publications, and large corporations were reached directly with press releases processed especially for them and with other material prepared and distributed through the Information Department. This trade-press activity included weekly bulletins to some 5,000 associations and publications in the fields of food, clothing, textiles, and consumer durables, plus about three mailings each week to an average of 700 individual organizations in other fields.

Magazines: During the past year over 60 magazines have been supplied with information, and assisted in the preparation of articles on problems of rationing, price, and rent control.

At least 60 magazine articles and special features have been published, some of them prepared by the Information Department's Magazine Branch, or by the magazine's own writers with information provided by the Department.

Magazines in which articles or features have appeared represent a total readership of more than 65,000,000 persons.

Radio: Radio is a particularly effective informational method—because 90 percent of the American people have radios and listen to them on an average of about 5½ hours a day. Radio is particularly suited to the Office of Price Administration's information problems, most of which are geared to developing an understanding of the reasons for our wartime rules and regulations.

Each week the Office of Price Administration Administrator reports to the people over the air. These scripts are prepared in the Department of Information and are broadcast over 361 stations. Similarly, the district directors report locally over 173 stations. Material for these speeches is prepared by the Department.

Newsbriefs and background stories in radio style for commentator and women's programs are a regular part of the Department's output. Scripts are also written for the Office of Price Administration guest speakers on commercial programs, national and local. Likewise, several scripts are written each week for regional and local Office of Price

Administration radio programs, broadcast over 500 stations.

Working with the Office of War Information, the Department of Information prepares material for the Office of Price Administration messages on network commercial programs, which averaged from one hundred and fifty to two hundred million listener-impressions per week during 1944.

The bimonthly 15-minute transcribed program, *Hasten the Day*, is planned by the Department of Information. This broadcast is heard over more than half the radio stations in the country—time value estimated at \$12,000 weekly.

Advertisements: In response to requests from a large number of merchants and local trade groups throughout the country who have asked for an opportunity to sponsor Government information in their advertising, more than 50 advertisements on price control and rationing have been furnished.

Local sponsors, such as merchants, banks, gasoline dealers, chambers of commerce, etc., have used this material with good results for the Office of Price Administration programs.

Six advertisements have been furnished for use in the shopping newspapers, two for foreign press, and two for the Negro press.

All of these advertisements have been published in newspapers at the sponsor's expense.

Car cards: Through arrangements with the Office of War Information, many transit companies furnish, free of charge, valuable advertising space in which price control, rent control, and rationing messages are brought before the public. In the first 10 months of this fiscal year, the Department of Information has prepared copy, lay-out, and art work for five car cards.

Posters: War plants, banks, office buildings, local organizations, stores, libraries, and others have agreed to carry messages on rationing and price control, through arrangement with the Office of War Information. These messages, in poster form, are prepared by the Department of Information. In the first 10 months of this year the Department has prepared copy, lay-out, and art work for 12 such posters, others are in preparation, and will be completed before the end of the fiscal year.

Motion-picture shorts: *The Story with Two Endings*, a film short on price control, was prepared at no expense to the Office of Price Administration. The Office of War Information arranged for distribution to 16,000 motion-picture theaters through the facilities of the War Activities Committee of the motion-picture industry. The Office of Price Administration purchased 16 millimeter prints of this film for nontheatrical distribution through groups and organizations, local war price and rationing boards, etc.

Highballing to Victory, produced by the Army, shows the great use of tires by the armed services. The Office of Price Administration purchased 16-millimeter prints of this film also, to be distributed nontheatrically as indicated above.

News reels: The Office of Price Administration has participated in 1-minute shorts locked into news reels. These are timely news shots, arranged for by the Office of War Information.

Sound-slide films: The Department of Information has written and supervised production of five slide films for training purposes. These films are used to provide visual instruction on price, rent, and rationing programs. The films are furnished to the Office of Price Administration field staff and used by them with local board personnel, and at trade and group meetings.

The Department of Information has furnished the field staff with an up-to-date list of slide-film projectors which may be borrowed from their owners at no cost.

The following is a list of the films:
Gasoline Black Market.
Meat Black Market.

It Can Be Done.

It Pays Dividends.

Your Job as a Price Panel Assistant.

Display material: Two billboard posters have been prepared by the Department of Information on Price Control. Through arrangements with the Office of War Information these posters are displayed on billboards throughout the country, and also in railroad stations.

Other display material includes a kit of five pieces for use by grocers in the grocer-consumer anti-inflation campaign. Another such kit is now in preparation and will be distributed this month.

Publications: A limited number of leaflets have been printed to meet the demand from community service members, groups, clubs, labor unions, schools, merchants, chambers of commerce, etc., for printed information concerning various phases of the price, rent, and rationing programs. A list of the more important ones follows:

Facts You Should Know (a series on Office of Price Administration regulations): Rent, Used Cars, Malt and Other Beverages, Ready Made Farm Construction, Automotive Repair Services.

A Fact Sheet on Price Control is issued each month.

A Guide to Ceiling Prices on Used Goods.

The Extent of Office of Price Administration's Responsibility in Wartime Programs Affecting the American Farmer. Farmers in the War. Farmers and the Fight Against Inflation.

Other fact sheets as follows:

Facts About the Gasoline Black Market.

Facts About Sugar.

Facts About Petroleum.

Facts About Gasoline Rationing.

Facts About Army Uses of Rationed Commodities.

Facts About Tires.

Facts About Shoes.

Facts About Car Sharing.

Facts About Evictions.

In the Fight Against Inflation—Clothing Retailers Play an Important Part.

Home Canning Sugar.

The Story of Wartime Rationing.

A People's Program; Rationing, Price Control, Rent Control.

Hard Facts About Meat.

Hard Facts About Civilian Supplies of Rationed Goods.

Group, educational, and community service: To meet requests for Office of Price Administration information from women's organizations, men's civic clubs, Negro groups, schools, colleges, and educational associations, the Department of Information has worked actively to provide informational materials and other program assistance to these groups and educational institutions.

Through contact with some 150 men's and women's national organizations, specially prepared informational materials have been distributed to the leading officials of these organizations.

At their request, special articles have been prepared for widely circulated publications of national organizations for distribution among their memberships. In addition, important national religious, fraternal, and welfare organizations (both white and Negro) have been kept supplied with current facts on price and rent control, food supplies, and rationing.

The Department of Information has prepared and distributed Office of Price Administration information leaflets for schools and groups, which covered such wartime subjects as inflation, rationing, price control, rent control, fuel oil, clothing, savings, and reconversion pricing. These leaflets were designed to carry brief, factual, and to the point stories, and to save paper, printing, and distribution costs.

Special educational publications such as the Record of OPA and study and speech outlines on reconversion pricing and the 1945 meat situation were also prepared.

The Department of Information supplied articles for United States Office of Education publications which go to key school people and college officials. Staff members have worked in the field with regional and district information officers in the development of State, city, and college educational programs, at the specific request of school and college officials.

Through preparation of materials and field work, the Department of Information has helped organize, stimulate, and strengthen the local informational work of the community service panels at the local war price and rationing boards. These panels work to build widespread public understanding of and voluntary compliance with Office of Price Administration's wartime price and rationing regulations.

Mr. CURTIS. What is its purpose? Is it to mold public opinion?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. That I assume is a matter of opinion. It is ostensibly designed to bring to the people knowledge of what OPA is doing.

Mr. CURTIS. I cannot understand how the people are ever going to be able to rid themselves of bureaucratic control as long as these bureaus spend millions and millions of dollars annually for propaganda to continue themselves in existence.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. As the gentleman knows, I have tried for years to cut down what has seemed to me unnecessary and unjustified work in this general field.

Mr. CURTIS. The gentleman has done some very fine work along that line and my inquiry was not in any way critical of the fine efforts the gentleman has put forth.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I thank the gentleman. I agree with his point of view in respect to unnecessary publicity.

I may mention in passing that the report indicates that this agency has put out during the past year official documents and questionnaires to the number of 45,259.

This is in connection with their work summarized as control over 6,000 farms, over 3,000,000 establishments, and over 135,000,000 consumers.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I yield.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Does the gentleman mean 45,000 different individual forms?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. That is my understanding.

I do not believe any extended comment is necessary for me at this time because the agency has been fully discussed in connection with the bill to extend its life.

We are all familiar with its glaring faults in the past and with the dislocations in the national economy by which we are confronted at this time to which it has contributed.

The Smith committee, as the Members will recall, criticized the activities of this agency very severely. The record in connection with this bill reflects difficulties and hardships by which the country is confronted today, interminable delays experienced in obtaining important decisions, and the inability of the agency to obtain compliance and cooperation with its policies.

I call your attention particularly to the evidence of large-scale counterfeit-

ing of food-ration stamps and gas-ration stamps, to the practice of overdrawing ration accounts, and to the fact that OPA was forced to institute no less than 51,186 sanctions, or legal proceedings of one kind or another, during the past fiscal year.

I think the food situation by which we are now confronted is typical of what we have encountered so often in this and other agencies in recent years due to faulty administration, conflicting authority, and lack of proper centralization. OPA cannot escape responsibility.

Personally I have always believed that the original law was fundamentally unsound. Personally I believe that the administration of the law in the past has been even worse and oftentimes without justification.

Price control is, of course, vital with the menace of inflation. I hope that the amendments adopted by the House last week will be enacted into law and that they will result in improved operation of the agency.

The responsibility is squarely on the shoulders of those who administer OPA.

LEND-LEASE

Now a word, Mr. Chairman, in reference to lend-lease.

Lend-lease requests \$4,375,000,000 for the next fiscal year, of which \$2,400,000,000 according to the estimates of the Bureau of the Budget will be provided by unexpended balance at the end of the current fiscal year.

This compares with an expenditure in the current year of \$5,342,000,000. In other words, the request is about a billion dollars less than expenditure in the current year, or 80 percent of that expenditure.

A break-down for the next fiscal year shows \$111,700,000 for tanks and other vehicles, \$720,400,000 for vessels and other water craft, \$3,364,500,000 for agriculture and industrial commodities, \$95,000,000 for servicing and repair of ships, \$79,400,000 for services and expenses; and \$3,300,000 for administrative expenditure.

Lend-lease funds, as you know, can be made available in any one of three ways: First, by direct appropriation to the President; second, by appropriation to the Army, Navy, and Maritime Commission, with authority to transfer up to a specified figure; and, third, by the leasing of ships by the Maritime Commission upon which there is no limitation.

The record indicates that as of March 31, 1945, \$28,222,000,000 have been made available by appropriation to the President; \$35,970,000,000 by appropriation to the Army, Navy, and Maritime Commission with authority to transfer; and some \$3,000,000 by the leasing of ships by the Maritime Commission; an overall total of \$64,195,000,000, of which \$39,942,000,000 have actually been transferred.

Reverse lend-lease is given as \$4,656,000,000.

The committee was furnished with a confidential document about 16 inches long and 10 inches wide, containing 52 pages, purporting to give the number of units, the dollar value, the country of destination, the over-all totals, and the impact upon our own domestic produc-

tion in respect to lend-lease commodities for the fiscal year 1946. About 12 countries are included.

The statement, although detailed, is not adequate. It is based on estimated needs. There is no satisfactory estimate furnished of anticipated obligations or transfers. There is no comparative table for the fiscal year 1945. There is great confusion in accounting for funds appropriated directly to the President and funds made available through the Army, Navy, and Maritime Commission. There is no satisfactory inventory statement. Several requests for information apparently have not been complied with.

It is impossible to obtain an accurate picture of the financial operations of this agency under these circumstances, and I think it is almost impossible to escape the conclusion that neither the Lend-Lease Administration nor the Bureau of the Budget has an accurate picture at this time.

VE-day having come and gone raises the broad question of policy as to lend-lease in the future. The testimony presented to the committee may briefly be summarized as follows: Lend-lease funds are to be made available to about 12 countries. Since VE-day programs have been reviewed and substantial reductions made. Several agreements have been concluded, three to be exact, with France, Belgium, and the Netherlands, under section 3 (c) of the act contemplating payment in funds for commodities over a period of 30 years, when those commodities have been determined to be no longer necessary for war purposes. Commodities for several of the countries to which I have referred it is contemplated will be terminated by the end of the calendar year and the hope is expressed that the Export-Import Bank with broadened powers will take over from that point on.

Mr. Crowley estimated that lend-lease as a whole ought to be capable of being wound up within a very short time, perhaps 30 days after VJ-day.

The agency indicates that it is operating under the terms of the applicable statute, the test in any given case being whether or not a given commodity can be considered as necessary for the prosecution of the war.

Under present conditions, however, there appear to be many borderline cases. Mr. Crowley stated very frankly that there were bound to be borderline cases, many of them, and that he could only hope that the number of these cases will become less and less as time goes on.

I am going to support the committee recommendation in respect to lend-lease, first, because of the war in the Pacific and, second, because of the critical conditions in Europe today in which so many of our troops are located.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman five additional minutes.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I want, however, to make this observation, Mr. Chairman. If we look at the picture from an over-all standpoint we find numerous agencies operating in the field of relief. First, there is the Army to which, as you

will recall, we gave \$562,000,000 last year for operations before UNRRA could get into the picture. Second, there is UNRRA to which we gave \$450,000,000 outright and \$350,000,000 in addition by transfer authority.

Incidentally, some of us thought a year ago that the \$350,000,000 was unnecessary and it has so proved only \$272,000,000 has been allocated—only \$41,000,000 has been spent.

In addition to the Army and UNRRA there is lend-lease with its billions of dollars operating in many instances in borderline cases.

In addition there is the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees which has been working in this field.

In the offing is the Export-Import Bank and the institutions contemplated under the Bretton Woods agreement.

In my judgment, Mr. Chairman, the entire picture ought to be reviewed by the proper committee of this Congress with a view to consolidation and efficient operation.

There is a tremendous problem of relief in Europe at the present time. Leaving aside the long-term problem, the immediate short-term problem is a problem of the most critical character. In terms of fuel, in terms of transportation, in terms of food, the situation is critical, if not desperate, in certain countries, and we are approaching another winter.

America, Mr. Chairman, must do its share in this connection. Even on the basis of self-interest we cannot afford to permit starvation and revolution in the countries of Europe. To do so might well serve to lose many of the fruits of victory that we have won at such a terrible cost in this war.

On the other hand, Mr. Chairman, it is perfectly obvious that America cannot finance the entire world. What we do, in my judgment, should be done as efficiently and as economically as possible with the maximum of self-help by the nations in Europe concerned. I think the problem is one of vital importance. I think it is one of immediate concern. I think that the Congress should deal with it at the earliest possible opportunity.

FOREIGN ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION

The Foreign Economic Administration, Mr. Chairman, embodies functions originally performed by some 14 agencies. The picture is not entirely clear because of the lack of distinction financially between functions and constituent agencies.

It may be said, however, that included in its functions are the following:

Export control, estimated to be necessary for at least another year.

The procurement of strategic materials estimated to continue at about the same level until VJ-day.

Economic warfare with its operations in the Pacific.

Allocations to and procurement for UNRRA.

The reconstruction of trade in the liberated areas, including the Philippine Islands.

Commercial transactions for the Army in neutral countries, and

Studies of economic and industrial disarmament and technical and industrial

intelligence with a view to the control of the war-making power of Germany.

Particular attention is called to the testimony commencing at page 846 of the hearings in reference to the latter. A force of 650 civilians and 6,500 from the Army is in contemplation for supervisory work in this field. A break-down by projects will be found at page 865 of the hearings.

The request for FEA is \$18,949,000. The comparable figure for the current fiscal year, excluding overtime and unexpended balances is \$17,000,000. The request, therefore, reflects an increase of \$1,900,000 with increases in both personnel and other obligations.

Fifty field offices are to be maintained overseas with a personnel of 198 in England, 196 in the Middle East, and 93 in Italy. No reduction in the total request was made in the light of VE-day.

The committee recommends an appropriation of \$16,500,000.

EMERGENCY FUNDS OF THE PRESIDENT

Mr. Chairman, I do not want to take up too much time. I may just mention in closing that this bill carries with it the reappropriation of emergency funds for the President in the amount of \$58,946,000. This compares with an actual expenditure of the current year of \$34,460,000.

I insert at this point in the RECORD the most recent allocations of these funds:

Statement of allocations made from the current appropriation "Emergency fund for the President, national defense, 1942-45," during the period June 1, 1944, to May 31, 1945

Balance available for allocation as of June 1, 1944.....	\$72,310,965.05
Rescission of portions of previous allocations.....	20,994,213.13
Transferred from war contributions fund, Treasury Department.....	101,374.21
Total available for allocation.....	93,406,552.39

Allocations:

Executive Office of the President:	
For procurement of special reports and handling of special problems.....	100,000.00
For confidential purposes.....	25,000.00
Office for Emergency Management:	
Foreign Economic Administration.....	61,898.89
Office of Defense Transportation:	
For operation of certain motortruck lines.....	5,000,000.00
War Refugee Board:	
Transferred from war contributions fund.....	101,374.21
Pursuant to Public Law 529.....	150,000.00
Independent offices:	
Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion:	
For general expenses.....	40,000.00
For expenses of Office of Contract Settlement.....	250,000.00
Federal Security Agency:	
Relocation of aliens.....	30,000.27
Civilian war aid.....	393,000.00

Allocations—Continued

Department of Agriculture:	
For prevention of insect pests.....	\$469,000.00
Department of Commerce:	
Bureau of the Census:	
For population census in certain congested areas.....	71,000.00
For census of manufactures.....	290,000.00
For survey of consumers' incomes.....	1,236,000.00
Department of the Interior:	
Bureau of Indian Affairs: For rehabilitation of Aleut Indians.....	200,000.00
Surplus property functions.....	60,000.00
Department of Justice: For confidential purposes.....	1,175,000.00
Navy Department:	
Overtime pay for certain employees.....	640.80
Confidential purposes.....	528.16
Department of State:	
For procurement of special reports.....	102,800.00
For confidential purposes.....	16,231,515.00
For relief and rehabilitation operations.....	200,000.00
For Monetary and Financial Conference.....	12,000.00
Expenses incident to determining amount due Americans as a result of Mexican expropriation of oil.....	194.09
Expenses of special diplomatic representatives of the President.....	71,000.00
Committee to Demarcate Boundary, Peru and Ecuador.....	9,000.00
Expenses, Anglo-American Caribbean Commission.....	45,000.00
Conference of Allied Ministers of Education in London (pursuant to Public Law 529).....	43,000.00
Cultural relations with China, Near East, and Africa (pursuant to Public Law 529).....	1,300,000.00
Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees.....	1,500,000.00
United Nations Conference, San Francisco.....	284,000.00
Treasury Department: For procurement of special reports.....	8,498.20
War Department: For operation of seized plants.....	5,000,000.00
Total allocations to May 31, 1945.....	34,460,449.62

Balance available for allocation as of June 1, 1945.....	58,946,102.77
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I simply want to say, Mr. Chairman, that in my judgment the table shows again the same story that we have heard so often and which we have tried to correct so often without success.

It shows item after item which should have been brought to the Congress for justification before any expenditure was made.

I do not think it is conducive to economy, I do not think it is conducive to sound administration for the Congress to make these moneys available year after year for purposes of emergency character and then have the Bureau of the Budget come up here again and again

and show that the funds have been used for other purposes.

I sincerely hope, Mr. Chairman, that under President Truman this practice of the past will be terminated.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN].

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. Chairman, some years ago a rather distinguished statesman, who had sought high office in this country, made a remark which has persisted in my memory for a long time. He said, speaking as a lawyer, there was an axiom in the law to the effect that you must always get your fee while the tears are hot. It is excellent axiom and had it been practiced in the first instance with respect to lend-lease, this country and the world would have been infinitely better off. I voted against the lend-lease bill in 1941. If that situation were to recur, I would do in the light of hindsight precisely what I did before. Since that time, however, I think I have supported every appropriation for lend-lease. They have done a superb job. Lend-lease has done an excellent job. In my judgment, it has been in very capable hands in the person of Mr. Leo T. Crowley, the Administrator. It has been referred to as a weapon of victory. I refer to it as being more than that. I regard it as the indispensable ingredient in victory. One need only to have sojourned in this world to ascertain how important lend-lease was in the scheme of things.

I remember surveying the docks of Khorramshahr, along the Persian Gulf, where the temperature right now is 150 degrees, which probably breaks down the mentality of a great many of our GI's; there you saw lend-lease materials and supplies being taken from liberty vessels, placed in an engineer or supply dump, and then subsequently loaded on a railroad which was operated by American GI's. It traveled over desert and mountains to transfer lend-lease equipment to the Russian border. I saw great trains and trucks wending their way across the desert taking the product of the genius of American production and American labor, and the diligence and toil of American agriculture in order that one of our allies might not only stay in the conflict but bring victory the sooner.

As I saw the jeeps going to London, Paris, and Italy, as I saw great quantities of material amassed along the coast of north Africa and Egypt, as I saw other materials and supplies and equipment on the Levantine coast, where difficulties have already arisen between a people under mandate and those who exercise the mandate, I saw then what lend-lease meant when they spoke of it as a weapon of victory. But lend-lease is soon to come to an end. Pray God it could come to an end today. But it will not come to an end until the day when VJ is written in the sky. But it will come to an end, and the administrator of lend-lease has assured the committee that he will carry out the mandate of the law.

I think for the refreshment of the Congress and the country I want to read Mr. Crowley's language as it appears in the hearings. First he gave us an assurance "that lend-lease was not to be used di-

rectly or indirectly as an aid to postwar rehabilitation."

In that respect he follows out the mandate which this Congress gave to him in the administration of lend-lease.

Secondly, with respect to the termination of lend-lease he said this:

It should be discontinued within a very short time, perhaps 30 days after the end of the Japanese war.

Thus the future of lend-lease is pretty well determined. The final date for this kind of defense aid is coming closer. That of course will direct our attention to policies of postwar credit in the future. That is the thing about which I want to speak particularly this afternoon. Obviously, there are going to be demands upon this Government for credit from other countries in the postwar period. When lend-lease is over exactly what line do we propose to pursue? That is a matter, after all, for the Congress to determine.

We created an Export-Import Bank. You will find reference to it in this bill as well as to the administrative expenses for its operation. We should have more agencies such as the Export-Import Bank, which is one of the rather few agencies which has made a profit and has sent a little money into the Treasury at one time and another for the relief of the genus homo known as the American taxpayer. Export-Import Bank was created in 1934. Since that time it has committed about \$1,250,000,000 and it has disbursed roughly \$500,000,000 for all sorts of enterprises. A great many of those loans have been made to our neighbors in South America. Others have been made elsewhere; but the purpose of the Export-Import Bank was to facilitate and to make possible the export of merchandise to those countries where credit facilities were lacking. So it is going to be important in the postwar period to get our share of the foreign trade of this world. But I want any instrumentality of credit in the days to come to be tied to something more important. I do not want it to fail as the objective of lend-lease has failed in that respect, and that is the same object for which young men are fighting and dying today in all corners of the earth. I hope that we can put a tag upon our credit instrumentalities in the postwar period to make inexorably certain that there is going to be no more frustration in the hearts and the souls of the soldiers who come back and in the hearts and souls and minds of the people who stay home as to whether or not we are going to achieve this elusive ideal of freedom for which almost 400,000 GI's and junior officers have already died.

In that respect what we do with reference to postwar credit is going to be as important and perhaps more important than what is emanating from the San Francisco Conference at the present time. I recognize that the charter of San Francisco represents an intense human hope on the part of hundreds of millions of people scattered in every corner of the earth. But let us not forget that it is only the first step. Let us not make the mistake of believing it is more than the first step. I find disillusionment about some provisions in the San

Francisco Charter. I am thoroughly disillusioned about this whole veto provision. I spent most of Sunday examining the charter to see whether I could get any comfort or hope out of it. But as you spell out its implications and you think of difficulties that will arise in the future, it becomes necessary, before any one of the big five powers can be investigated with respect to any kind of an aggressive or coercive method, that it has to be voted by 7 of the 11 members of the Security Council, and then before any remedial action can be taken it is necessary for the representative of one of the big five powers to concur in any remedial action.

So that today while little nations, of course, are brought under all the provisions of law and international law, the representatives of a large nation can thwart any effort to move against that nation, irrespective of how just and equitable the cause might be. You have to read that in connection with the provision in the San Francisco Conference on trusteeships. Fine, pious platitudes are carried there, but tucked away down in the corner is a proviso, which in my considered judgment fairly nullifies most anything that was recited before. You will find it in chapter 12, article 80, of the charter. It says this:

Nothing in this chapter shall be construed in or of itself to alter or in any manner modify the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples or the terms of existing international instruments to which members may respectively be parties.

Now, there is a familiar ring to that provision in the charter. It is not unlike a good many of the delimiting provisions that have been offered to appropriation bills on this floor year after year. It sets forth the beautiful objective and then says:

Nothing herein contained shall be construed to modify anything that is today under existing international instruments.

I want to relate all of this in a moment to the theme that I started out to pursue, namely, postwar credit when lease-lend is done.

Only in proportion as this discussion is related to the subject matter that is before us will it have any real value. The provisions of the charter relating to trusteeships for non-self-governing areas in the world plus the veto power must be examined. Let me illustrate what I mean. I saw some folks in the diplomatic gallery this morning. I do not know whence they came. The costume was familiar. They looked to me like Jebel Druses who had come from Syria—and for all I know perhaps they had—in that rather characteristic costume. I saw some of them who were serving as members of Congress in Syria and in Lebanon. Elected from the western reaches of those countries they were taking their place there to deliberate legislation for their own country. When I saw them this morning I thought also of the difficulty that is evidenced right now on the Levantine coast at the end of the Mediterranean Sea. Here are two small countries, Syria and Lebanon, with perhaps four and one-half million peoples altogether, mostly businessmen, people of character, people of capacity, people of business not unlike our own people.

In the First World War they fought on the side of the Allies. They were given a solemn assurance that in so doing they would have their independence at the end of the war. When that day came they marched themselves to London for a keeping of the covenant and there they were told by high authority that the covenant could not be kept because conditions were different now; and so for another 25 years they were placed under a mandate. They are among the people who are referred to now in this whole trusteeship provision of the San Francisco Charter and they come under that provision which says:

Nothing herein contained shall be construed to modify relationships under existing international agreements.

You can readily understand why they have been killing people over in Syria and in Lebanon in recent weeks. I talked to their President. I had lunch with him. I had a cocktail with the President of the Chamber of Deputies. I sat in a garden party with members of their Cabinet. I know how they think, and I know that under that kind of proviso that freezes the lack of freedom of small peoples in the world you can talk until doomsday about security and about peace but the ferment of freedom is going to be there.

And so we go back then to lend-lease and we go back to the statement made by a great American that the thing to do always "is to get your fee while the tears are hot." We failed to do that in 1941. It is too late now with respect to lend-lease; it is going to run out pretty soon. But there looms before us, however, the responsibility of postwar credit and whether or not there will be attached thereto the same provision that will prevent frustration on the part of youngsters scattered to all the four quarters of the world who are engaged in the cause of freedom. I sat on the balcony with a cabinet minister of Egypt overlooking the old Nile and for hours we discussed the history of his country and the future, and then at long last he said: "The whole story is very simple, we surrendered half of our freedom in 1936 under a treaty that we might preserve the other half." And if you want to know what he meant you need only go through Alexandria, you need only walk through the streets of Cairo and count the soldiers from various nations and from certain nations in particular and then you will understand what this former cabinet minister, who was a member of the cabinet when the Nazis were moving along north Africa meant. They want their own soldiers to patrol the Suez Canal; they want something to say about their own country, and yet here is an existing international instrument that cannot be disturbed under article 80 of the treaty or under the charter. And so I recite to you here and now that that is the sort of thing that disillusioned me a great deal because I was led to believe long ago that what we were engaged in even then was a crusade for freedom. I remember going up the hilltop from the port of Colombo to Kandy in Ceylon where Lord Mountbatten was the supreme commander and where Lieutenant General Wheeler, our

own beloved commander, was carrying on the business of that command. There was a little girl along the roadside selling cocoanuts, but she knew enough to recite the "four freedoms" and the provision for self-determination in the Atlantic Charter. I talked with the humble proprietor of a butcher shop in Ankara, Turkey, and humble as he was, lacking literacy as he did, he could still talk about freedom and self-determination in the Atlantic Charter. I talked to GI's in every section of the world. When I asked them what they were fighting for they rather sheepishly scratched their heads and said, "Well, I think I'm fighting for freedom and for the 'four freedoms.'"

Yes, we made it very plain when the disunity in the thinking of our country resolved itself at Pearl Harbor, that this was a crusade for freedom. The "four freedoms" gradually became a lively phrase. It is the thing that sustained and stimulated them in those anxious hours when they were in the fox holes in all corners of the earth. The novelty of a machine gun or a 75-millimeter field piece, or a 105-millimeter howitzer wears off pretty quickly. There has got to be some spiritual force to sustain them in those anxious hours. So they found it, in the fact that they were crusaders in the cause of freedom. But already the ugly head of aggression begins to lift its head in other sections of the world and you wonder what is going to happen to freedom. We know now that lend-lease as an instrument did not have the tag on it when it was passed here in March 1941, whereby we could make certain that this thing called freedom would be preserved. Why, Mr. Chairman, in my judgment, it is the greatest issue in the world today. Make no mistake about that. The ferment is there.

I can remember talking to the leaders in India. I had tea with them one afternoon in the patio of the Indian Congress. They were not content or satisfied, at least, but grateful for the concessions that had been made over a period of years. But when all is said and done the ferment of freedom among 500,000,000 people in that oriental country is still at work and nothing short of freedom will bring possible serenity and contentment.

You may say that of Bulgaria and Rumania today. You can say that of Iran and Iraq; you can say it of Tunis, Algiers, and Morocco. Wherever there is a mandate today that is frozen, there is going to be no peace and there is going to be no security unless it comes by force from the top down. How much better and how much more durable it would be if it came from the bottom up.

That, in my judgment, is the issue in the world today. I try not to be a super-idealist, but I do not propose to be laughed off in this matter by some of these supreme realists who think that after all you must stymie freedom in this world, because then you will have to find the answer to this question of why 400,000 GI's are already sleeping in the sod and another 800,000 are on the casualty list, either as missing or wounded or in some other status.

They are going to ask questions one day when they come back home. They

are going to take inventory when they can compare notes, when they get back to the old homestead with their families. They will ask, What have we been fighting for? Then, if they lift their eyes and begin to understand that freedom is not an accomplished fact after a little of the fever has gone out of the world, there comes frustration and then look out once more for isolationism to rise in every section of the country. Do not make any mistake about that.

So, Mr. Chairman, I want to raise my voice here today on this issue, even though it may provoke some comment, even though it may provoke a challenge; because it will not be too long before the whole question of postwar credit, in addition to Bretton Woods, in addition to the International Bank, in addition to the International Fund, and those other instrumentalities, will come before us for discussion. Already it has been urged upon us that the Johnson Act must be repealed, and I favor that, just like I am for the San Francisco charter, but I will not blink at the realities of the situation and seek to hide my head in the sand where I cannot see the great moving resurgent force that is operating in the world today with which we must contend because it is the thing for which the young men of America and the young men of other nations have so freely died.

We get back then to the question of postwar credit when lend-lease runs out. Do we as a country, do we as a Congress, propose to permit a single American dollar of credit to be used for the purpose of aggression, the same type of aggression for which young Americans have died on foreign battlefields?

Do we propose to permit the use of a single American dollar to freeze a situation of that kind, the very kind of aggression, as it were, for which American GI's have died? If so, then my friends let us prepare for frustration of a mass variety and let us conclude that so many of those youngsters that we find in all corners of the earth may have some doubt about the crusade in which they were engaged, because then one cannot say that freedom in truth and in fact has become an accomplished fact in the corners of the earth. You read your newspapers critically today and you see the selfish reaching out now for advantages here and there. How imperative it becomes upon us in connection with this whole question of postwar credit to make sure that it shall be an instrumentality for freedom, even as lend-lease has been an indispensable weapon for victory. I leave that thought with you because it is a matter that we, who have been entrusted with the power of the purse, must meet, that responsibility in the postwar period. Let me reiterate once more so that there can be no misunderstanding about my position. I favor the San Francisco Charter. I only regret that it did not go further and I only regret that provisions were not written into it that would nail down the very thing for which so many GI's have died and for which the economy of the whole world has been so sadly dislocated. But if we fail in this crusade for freedom now, it will remain then for another generation to wipe out the derelictions of this generation.

Mr. BALDWIN of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. BALDWIN of New York. Mr. Chairman, I want to compliment the gentleman for I am not in disagreement with much that he has said.

But I think it is important for all of us to understand one thing. I ask the gentleman now whether under the Vandenberg amendment the machinery for improving the charter does not exist? I have not finished reading it, but as I understand it, that is true.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Yes; it is quite true that machinery for improvement exists, but as I examine the amendment and the clauses in the charter, we are confronted with the practical question of securing those improvements only over a long period of time, and it is within that period of time when the world is so feverish that the devilry is going to be contrived and the damage is going to be done.

Mr. BALDWIN of New York. Is it not a fact that the world is not quite ready for some of the things that we are talking about? I submit, for instance, that I think very few Americans would be willing to give the people of Panama complete freedom, which would involve our turning over to them the Panama Canal, and the same thing could be said for the Suez Canal in Egypt. These things have got to be worked out over a period of years. I am speaking now as an American looking at the picture realistically.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Well, let us examine that for a moment. Nearly 17 months ago this country recognized the independence of Syria and Lebanon. I was advised of that fact when I was in Damascus and also in Beyrouth. But notwithstanding that fact the armies of two outside powers are in that country today, and since they are under one of these existing international agreements placed in chapter XII, I ask my friend, the gentleman from New York, what is going to be done in a situation of that kind in the light of the limiting proviso in the charter?

Mr. BALDWIN of New York. My own opinion is that under the power granted in the charter the independence of Syria and Lebanon will be recognized and will be made effective. But the fact remains if American troops protecting the Panama Canal had any question, we will say, with troops of a neighboring state who entered the Canal, I am sure we would take some action.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Just leave out the Panama Canal.

Mr. BALDWIN of New York. I cannot leave it out.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Let us consider, for instance, two countries that are potential trouble spots in this modern world because of geography and resources—countries where people are already being killed, where French soldiers are already being slaughtered, and where, as the result of that difficulty, a remonstrance has already been filed at San Francisco before the treaty was even signed. I ask my friend what he would do about a difficulty of that kind, because there is no canal involved? There is involved only

a modest number of people who were assured their independence after the last war, and the Covenant was not kept. They have been recognized by this country, but their freedom today is not an accomplished fact. They are under one of these existing instrumentalities under which they have been frozen in a mandated status by the provisions of the charter.

Mr. BALDWIN of New York. I do not think, Mr. Chairman, they have been frozen in that condition and I would be willing to give some odds that in a comparatively short time both Syria and Lebanon will have complete freedom. There is not a canal involved but there are raw materials involved; and religious questions involved which can stir this country to its depths, as the gentleman himself has pointed out. We want to see this thing properly settled, and I claim under the charter it can be settled.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Let us examine that position. I said at the outset, when you consider for instance the circumstances of these nongoverning peoples, you must consider it also in the light of the veto power. Who are the five who compose the security council today? They are Russia, Great Britain, the United States, China, and France. Who has the mandate over Syria today? France has the mandate. Suppose France votes in the Security Council that there shall be no remedy. This thing that was done in San Francisco says unless France does concur no action can be taken by the Security Council. There is the freeze. There freedom lies in the lap of an outside power and the charter keeps it there.

Mr. BALDWIN of New York. Oh, Mr. Chairman, France has recognized the independence of Syria and Lebanon. She also wants to protect her rights to go through their territory. That is something that can be easily solved without the charter.

Mr. DIRKSEN. It cannot be solved easily under the charter. It begins to appear it is not going to be solved. If one critically reads the statements on the front pages today, Britain and France are already at odds over this dispute in the Middle East. But France, like the rest of the big powers, can resist every effort to remedy the matter because she can exercise her veto power after the charter becomes effective. What we witnessed in San Francisco with reference to the cleavage between the big powers and the little powers was nothing more than the reaching up of little powers for freedom which has been so long denied them. I am not too hopeful about modifying the charter at an early date. The big powers have, in fact, a kind of vested interest against modification. It may not be 1 or 2 or 3 years before you can get people in and get them to amend this thing. If it is not done, not only will these situations be frozen but there will be other situations added to them which are already beginning to engross the attention of the people of this country, and have already come into public print. So what other conclusion can one reach in a very realistic world than the fact that a world condition has been frozen by the charter and it will be a long time perhaps before it is un-

done. And again I ask: What of this business of freedom?

I add this one parenthetical thought because I try to be realistic and because I believe I can see what is ahead. It is one of the reasons why I marched myself over to the Committee on Postwar Military Policy and there made a statement in behalf of compulsory military training in the hope that in the days that lie ahead for whatever eventualities may develop, this country may be ready in a world that has not yet lost its fever.

But, Mr. Chairman, this discussion should really end where it began. It began with lend-lease and its ultimate termination. It sought to spell out the problem of postwar credits after lend-lease comes to an end, and it seeks only to make the point that it will be a mockery of the holy dead who died for freedom if American dollars or dollars credits are permitted to frustrate the very thing for which they died.

Once more I commend Mr. Crowley and his staff for an excellent job in administering lend-lease and in making a constant and diligent endeavor to administer it in accord with the intent of Congress.

THE SAN FRANCISCO CHARTER

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. HAYS].

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Chairman, I have been inspired, as always, by the words of our friend from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], who speaks with clarity and eloquence and with a great store of information.

It is not my purpose to question his observations regarding independence and self-determination, but I hope he will agree with me that it would be well for the emphasis to be placed not upon any disappointing features of the San Francisco Conference, but upon the great achievements which have undoubtedly resulted from that meeting.

This was a political conference, and political conferences, according to history, have never been entirely successful. Even the Convention which framed the Constitution under which we operate and under which we have enjoyed such blessings was fraught with great dissension. I am not sure of the exact language, but I recall that in substance no less a patriot than Patrick Henry said of the instrument produced by that Convention:

I regard it as the most iniquitous plan ever devised by the mind of man whereby the freedom of a people can be destroyed.

So if my distinguished colleague has this feeling of disappointment and if he concludes that the greater weight in this delicate issue between power and ideals has been upon the side of power, cannot he be consoled by the fact of our own history that the fears which Patrick Henry and his contemporaries entertained were removed and that we came to realize the greatest liberties that men have enjoyed on this earth.

We recognize two competing forces, the quest for power, and the innate desire for freedom. The drive for power, if unchecked and if unrestrained, leads, as a wise man said, to absolute power, and "absolute power corrupts absolutely."

Against that is the desire for freedom and self-determination. But the desire for freedom, unrestrained, leads to license, chaos, and anarchy. So, after all, is not the eternal fight of democracy to find a balance between those two competing forces, the one for power and the other for freedom? I am coming around to the point, Mr. Chairman, that, in my judgment, the San Francisco Conference has come just about as close to that delicate balance between the two forces as it is possible for imperfect man to come.

I should hope that the gentleman, in spite of his disappointment, would agree that yesterday was a notable day, a tremendously important day in the long history of man's upward climb toward freedom.

The world is going to be organized. It will be organized by people who believe as we do, in freedom, or by those who believe in aggression and power for power's sake. So we, as one of the great powers, must accept our share of responsibility. It is surely a grave time for us; it is a time to accept responsibilities in world relationships that America has never had before, but to accept them with great hope and with the assurance that we are going to be equal to those responsibilities.

I wanted to say this, not in the way of violent disagreement, because as a matter of sentiment I feel strongly with the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] that ideals are important, and when the so-called practical men, the realists, speak of the necessity for employing force to preserve or freeze the status quo, then the idealists, who in the long run are the more practical, are entitled to be heard. Certainly America's sympathy will always be with those who want self-determination and who are determined to have it. My hope is that in the arrangements authorized by the San Francisco Charter there will be a gradual admission of the small nations and peoples aspiring to independence to a greater share in determining world policy, and that the element of universality will be as characteristic of world government as the element of stability which is the more immediate aim.

I appreciate the indulgence of the House in this observation upon the very interesting remarks of the gentleman from Illinois.

APPROPRIATION FOR OPA

Now, very briefly in the closing minutes I have, may I speak of the purpose I had in mind when I asked for this time to discuss one feature of the bill under consideration. I believe, Mr. Chairman, that the House improved the bill for an extension of price control, although I supported only two of the amendments. I believe that we will all generally approve of the conferees' report. I am satisfied that they anticipated from the outset that there would be no irreconcilable differences between the two bodies when the results were compared.

We have decided one thing, and we have decided it over and over again, that fundamentally and primarily the problem of OPA is an administrative problem. Congress first laid out broad legis-

lative policies. Then on the basis of experience, we wrote certain restraints, certain new instructions for administrative officials, but we are agreed that fundamentally the weaknesses in this program have been administrative weaknesses. In view of that we want to equip the administrative officers to do the job and then we are going to hold them to a strict accounting.

Consequently I had hoped that the request of the Budget Bureau for OPA would be approved by the Appropriations Committee, but the figure was reduced by \$6,000,000, so that the bill as it now stands carries an appropriation for OPA of \$11,000,000 less than for the current year and \$6,000,000 less than the budget request.

Mr. TABER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS. I yield.

Mr. TABER. When you come to figure this overtime business and everything else, it is away above the current year, probably \$12,000,000.

Mr. HAYS. May I say to the gentleman from New York, that surely with the new responsibilities in connection with the enforcement—for we have said in no uncertain terms, individually and collectively, that we expect a more vigorous program of enforcement by the OPA, and in the light of the second necessity, of a program that will make reconversion more expeditious, every dollar of this requested amount is needed. I would be interested in hearing the gentleman comment on that.

Mr. TABER. I spoke of that a little while ago and pointed out where they were wasting money that they should use for proper operation.

Mr. HAYS. I am not sure, if I may say so to the gentleman from New York, that they can possibly do the job with the reduced amount, because businessmen who are interested in reconversion and who must have approved price schedules for new products are entitled to expeditious action. I have been as critical as any Member of the House on specific situations. I think, no matter who is responsible, these long delays are very unfortunate.

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS. I yield.

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Have we any assurance that the amendments the House put in the bill will stay in the bill?

Mr. HAYS. I think we can be reasonably sure they will remain in the bill in substance.

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. If that be the situation we can transfer some of the activities of OPA to Agriculture and in that respect they would probably need less money.

Mr. HAYS. But they will need more money made available to them in the matter of pricing our new production and other services.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS. I yield.

Mr. MONRONEY. I want to compliment the gentleman from Arkansas on the very constructive analysis he has

given of the subject. The problem that faces the country today is a speedy and expeditious pricing of few items coming in under reconversion. If we deny them sufficient funds for this purpose then the Congress must accept responsibility for any administrative failure. They cannot do it unless they have enough money to do that which we expect them to do.

Mr. HAYS. Would not the gentleman agree with me that it would be better for us to err on the side of giving them a little too much rather than on the side of withholding from them the money they might desperately need for hastening reconversion steps?

Mr. MONRONEY. I might add that over a week's period of time a black market of 10 cents a pound on potatoes would more than offset practically this full amount.

Mr. HAYS. I thank the gentleman.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Arkansas has expired.

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Idaho [Mr. WHITE].

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Chairman, I am a little doubtful whether I should speak concerning the difficulties I have had in getting facts in connection with the bill before us, or to devote my time to analysis of lend-lease. If there is anything the need of which a Congressman feels more than anything else, it is statistical information or help to get statistical information.

Yesterday we passed the War Department bill appropriating \$38,000,000,000. We have a deficiency bill before us at the present time appropriating several billions more, and I do not believe there is a Member of the House who has had an opportunity with the help at his command to do the necessary research to obtain factual information concerning the items in the bill and make any comparison with the record and dig out the facts so that we can vote intelligently on this bill. I am going to talk to you about a few facts that I have been able to dig out concerning our lease-lend transactions.

If there was ever a time that this country has been a big brother to the British Empire it has certainly been demonstrated by the things in this bill and other appropriations we have passed in our dealings with the British. One of the things I am interested in in this bill is the item on page 40, line 9, reading as follows:

Vessels, ships, boats, and other water craft, including the hire and temporary use thereof, and equipage, supplies, materials, spare parts, and accessories, \$666,912,000.

This brings to mind the fact that when British boats pass through the Panama Canal they go through toll free. It brings to mind the further fact that when American boats want to go through the Suez Canal to prosecute the war they must pay the full tolls. We are reliably informed that when our boats carrying British munitions or British troops go through the Suez Canal Uncle Sam must pay the toll. I am wondering why we cannot deal with our allies in a rational and businesslike manner in handling

lend-lease transactions. This bill carries an over-all appropriation for lend-lease of \$1,975,000,000. We are told that with the authorized use and reappropriation of unexpended balances it amounts to \$4,375,000,000.

I wonder how many of us realized when we passed the Silver Purchase Act back in 1934 that we were creating the means of building up a British war chest? I wonder how many know what is being done with silver under this lend-lease arrangement? We are reliably informed from the Treasury that we have furnished the British under lend-lease for coinage purposes 300,000,000 ounces of silver. The British have coined this silver into money that is worth from \$1.60 in India and \$2 an ounce in Australia and in the British Empire. By this silver transaction we are financing the British with an additional half a billion dollars of lend-lease that has been furnished to the British Government in the form of silver without any expense to the British whatever; and if the gentleman from New York is right that none of this lend-lease material is to be returned, or paid for, then we are making the British a present not counted in these appropriations of over half a billion dollars.

Mr. TABER. If the gentleman will yield, it is way beyond that.

Mr. WHITE. I am talking about the item of silver alone.

Mr. TABER. Yes.

Mr. WHITE. That is not calculated or brought out in the testimony or in other calculations that are before the House.

We have lent the British under the lend-lease program 300,000,000 ounces of silver for coinage purposes, which they have coined into money, with a purchasing power of around \$2 an ounce. If that is not a gift of over half a billion dollars I would like to know what it is.

Mr. Chairman, I said that we have been a big brother to the British Empire. While we have shut down our gold mines and put our gold-mining business out of business, the British and the South African Purchasing Commissions have been permitted to come into this country and buy materials and supplies to operate their gold mines, while the gold mines of South Africa have been running full force and to full capacity without rationing. The British are operating their mines in Canada at full capacity while our mines are shut down.

What is the reason that our administration officials cannot deal with this lend-lease thing in a businesslike manner?

I would like to recite a little history. Silver has always proved a valuable war metal, one that has been of stabilizing influence in time of war and stress. In the last war when the British credit was about to collapse in India, they found a silver hoard in the United States and came over here and bought 200,000,000 ounces, which was sent to India to bolster the British credit. We sold that silver to the British for \$1 an ounce. There was a law passed by the Congress later that the silver would be repurchased and redeposited in the Treasury at \$1 an ounce from domestic sources. It was one of the most invigorating influences in our prosperity of that period.

I want to bring another fact to the attention of the Members who are talking about the money situation. The British have reduced the silver in the rupee of India to 500 fine. The British some 2 years ago withdrew from legal tender the pure silver rupee, which is 925 fine, and put in its place a rupee of 500 fine, a half-alloy coin which in effect results in a blocked currency for India, because when India comes to this country to purchase from our exporters we value their money on a bullion basis. That results in their purchasing power being cut in half. Everything that we are doing for our ally seems to be adverse to the good, sound business principles of our own country. I feel that this 300,000,000 of silver that we have lent the British will be returned and will be thrown on the bullion market to break down the price of silver and destroy the purchasing of our oriental customers just as the 200,000,000 ounces were thrown on the market after the last war to break down the price of silver and destroy the purchasing power of our Asiatic customers. This in turn had a serious effect on prices in this country and was largely responsible for the depression that we went through in the 30's.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Idaho has expired.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. CASE].

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. Chairman, seldom has an appropriation bill been considered by the House that carries such large sums of money and affects so many different items which Members of the House will be called upon to explain to their constituents, where so much time has been spent in general debate with so little on the items in the bill, itself. Yesterday afternoon we witnessed the spectacle of most of the time being devoted to the discussion of an item that was not in the bill. I refer to the discussion of the FEPC. Today a great deal of discussion has been relative to other appropriation bills, legislative or otherwise, and to other subjects rather than items in this bill.

Mr. Chairman, this is a general deficiency bill and carries items for a great many activities, including an appropriation for two particular activities concerning which every Member will be called upon to understand and explain when he makes a report to his people. I refer to the item in here of approximately \$175,000,000 for the Office of Price Administration and the item in here for defense aid or lend-lease, which is approximately \$4,400,000,000.

The defense-aid item consists of \$1,975,000,000 in new money and the balance in appropriation or whatever new money may be necessary to make up a reappropriation of approximately \$2,400,000,000.

The discussions by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] and the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. HAYS] on the charter and the question of freedom as related to defense aid, were very interesting. I want to venture the observation, however, that the greatest disappointment is going to come to the peoples of the world if they are led to believe that freedom can be assured by writing a charter and then forgetting the thing.

The problem of freedom is a continuing problem. The problem of liberty is a problem of eternal vigilance. We cannot buy freedom by dollars. We cannot buy freedom by defense aid alone. It is going to call for continuous study and devotion to the problems of day-to-day government in the world in the days to come. So whatever we may hope may be the general result of the war, we cannot escape being realistic about such matters as defense aid.

When the gentleman from Kansas, whom I see over there, goes back to his people this summer, they may want to know how much of this defense aid of \$4,400,000,000, approximately, is going to foreign countries in the form of agricultural products. The gentleman from New York, who confronts a meat shortage in his city, may be called upon to explain why this bill provides for sending meat and fish to a great many countries of the world in the amount approximately 10 percent of the entire four billion four hundred million fund in the bill.

The total agricultural products carried in this bill, such as dairy products and eggs, meat, fish, fruits, and vegetables, grain and cereal products, sugar, lard, fats, and oils, vitamins, and other foodstuffs amount to over one-third of the \$4,400,000,000 defense aid carried in the bill. Machine tools, agricultural machinery, road-building equipment, electrical equipment, railroad equipment, other machinery, and items of that character amount to more than one-tenth of the \$4,400,000,000. Phosphates, petroleum, coal, textiles, chemicals, mineral products, and timber products amount to over one-fourth of the \$4,400,000,000 carried for defense aid in this bill.

I think I can say that the committee was impressed by the intent and integrity of men like Mr. Crowley who appeared before us, but when it is remembered that this \$4,400,000,000 worth of material is going to be distributed to such countries as the Soviet Republic, the United Kingdom colonies, Australia, New Zealand, India, China, France, Belgium, Norway, the Netherlands, Saudi Arabia, and the Middle East, many of your people will want to know what those people are doing in the war. For instance, what is Saudi Arabia doing in the war against Japan? What is Norway doing in the war against Japan? What is Belgium doing in the war against Japan? I hope those of you who are interested in wanting to attempt to answer those questions will read the hearings as they appear at page 700 and following.

Mr. JENNINGS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. JENNINGS. What could they do to help this country in the war against Japan except to send some soldiers and let them get out on the firing line where it is dirty and dangerous? Of course, they will always be hungry. They have an insatiable appetite, and they can eat not only what we are sending them but perhaps what others send in addition.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. I said during the hearings that I thought a better case had been made for relief than

was made for defense aid. I asked Mr. Cox, the chief counsel, about the limitations upon the allotments of these supplies. Mr. Cox replied—and I read from the hearings, page 721:

That in the first place the President has to make a finding that a particular country's defense is vital to the defense of the United States; second, a finding has to be made by Mr. Crowley, who has the powers delegated to him by the President, that the particular supply is a defense article within the meaning of the Lend-Lease Act and is furnished to a country whose defense is vital to the defense of the United States.

With respect to some of these food items I raised the question which the gentleman from Tennessee has just raised. The reply was that there is a great deal of social unrest in some of these countries, and that if we do not keep them quiet it will complicate our problems in fighting against Japan.

I wish there was more time remaining for general debate than there is. I am going to drop the subject of defense aid and turn to the Office of Price Administration for the time remaining to me.

Personally, I think the Office of Price Administration is getting more money in this bill than it will be able to spend wisely or effectively. It is my personal feeling that instead of asking the OPA to put on more agents we should tell them to drop some of their activities and simplify their regulations, thereby reducing their work load.

My mail is getting heavier and heavier with instances of picayunish persecution by the OPA of people who have no opportunity to know some minor or minute regulation of the OPA which they are charged with having violated.

Here is a letter which came to me which says:

One of our citizens came in the other day and asked about 5-year bonds. He said he wanted to buy \$5,000 worth. But the next day he attended a local trial by the OPA and then he came back to the bond committee and said, "Forget it. I am through buying bonds if citizens are going to be bullied by the OPA with money that might be paid out of the bonds I would buy."

Last night the Star carried a survey by the Associated Press of instances throughout the country where regulations of the OPA were causing tremendous resentment.

At Houston, Tex.—and I do not suppose anyone will want to say that the people of Houston, Tex., are unpatriotic, disloyal, or that they are lawbreakers. But the Associated Press reports that yesterday nearly 1,000 meat markets were closed on the second day of what the operators declared to be a shut-down protest against over-ceiling wholesale prices and tie-in sales regulations by the OPA.

One letter that I have received says:

No one ever wants to contact the local or district OPA office for any reason. They want to keep out of the OPA limelight. If they ask about something they may find that they will be persecuted and prosecuted. The same party of which I spoke in the above paragraph stated his views about OPA tactics and actions. This was overheard by an OPA official, who stated: "I'd sure love to get something on him."

At another point, he says:

One of the things that I, and many others, cannot understand are the differences in the

amount of food to be distributed and the actual amount will be distributed through ration points, as an example, let us take the red ration points for meats and fats and fish and cheese:

Each person is allocated, and has been since the first of this year, 50 points a month, a total of 600 for the year, out of which each family is supposed to purchase the items noted. On this basis each person would receive about:

	Points
10 pounds of butter at 24 points.....	240
6 pounds of fats at 12 points.....	72
36½ pounds of meat (average 8 points).....	288

This equals 600 points and the year's allotment—but daily we read that we are not being treated so bad—we are supposed to get:

	Points
10 pounds of butter at 24 points.....	240
28 pounds of fats at 12 points.....	336
120 pounds of meat at 8 points.....	960
Fish? Canned milk? Cheese?.....	?

Here we have actual total of 1,536 plus. Difference: Short 936 points.

Mathematically it just won't check with what a person is supposed to receive and what he is able to obtain with his ration book.

Of course, I know it will be stated that restaurants and industrial agencies will process foods and that the individual will obtain the remainder of his ration in that manner. That may be true of a person who has no home and eats at restaurants—or a person who eats out twice daily. It will not add up when considering the folks who live at home for three meals daily—or the wife and children who live and eat at home, nor the farmer and small-town folks who seldom if ever eat out, and who process their own food—bake their own bread and pastries, and generally process all their foods at home, purchasing the raw ingredients.

I'd personally like to hear the answer to that one, and I mean a logical answer that will fit our people. * * * As I have written you previously, we must have price control, but it must be managed with discretion and a bit of common sense.

I close by offering a most pertinent letter written by one of our most respected merchants to the South Dakota Retail Merchants Association. The letter follows:

APRIL 14, 1945.

SOUTH DAKOTA RETAIL MERCHANTS' ASSOCIATION,

Huron, S. Dak.

DEAR SIR: There has been considerable publicity lately, sent out by the Office of Price Administration, relative to cases to be held against certain merchants within the State, for alleged violating certain OPA regulation. I have never read or heard whether or not these allegations have been upheld, and the suspensions ordered, although I did read a few of the many alleged violations.

It is my belief that your office should ask the Office of Price Administration to discontinue this publicizing of allegations prior to a hearing before authorized local boards or the courts of our Nation's tribunals; and then only in case of a guilty finding by that court, should any publicity be given the case.

My reason for this utterance is that the person is accused, not formally, but informally. He has not been indicted by a court or a jury, but by a board. A board who has only the same authority as any other agency of the Federal Government. Any other agency would place the case before a formal jury—a secret jury—who would bring out their findings, and who then would decide if there was sufficient evidence to bring the case to court or to drop the case and all its allegations.

This alleging something that someone has done, through fraud, in a premeditated conspiracy against the people in time of war, is a serious allegation. It reduces the respect of all our peoples in the patriotic works we are

trying to do. It reduces the respect of all peoples for distributive trades who are doing a tremendous task in supplying peoples with their daily food and clothing needs.

It is breaking down the morale of merchants—honest merchants—all over the Nation. They are asking themselves: "Why should I try to work under this burden of unjust and constant accusation of dishonesty and disloyalty, trying to make a very meager living, while others work in war plants, make a better living, and a constant pat on the back for their patriotic work. Am I, too, not doing a patriotic job in trying to comply with these masses of regulations—I guess I'll quit."

A letter from your office should not name individual merchants as they may then be persecuted by those offices, and under constant surveillance. You know what and how to do the job.

Sincerely,

ART SVENDBY.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VORYS].

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, we are all inspired by the return of the delegates from the United Nations Conference in San Francisco today. I was at the national airport to greet them as they returned to the Capital. Their work is on a high plane of broad principles in planning for peace. We have a workaday job before us here in the House of making peace work; it is involved in this bill, in the lend-lease appropriations.

This Congress wrote in an amendment to the lend-lease extension law this spring which provided that lend-lease was not to be used for postwar relief, rehabilitation, or reconstruction, but provided machinery for the transition period from war to peace. President Truman, then Vice President, voted on that amendment, as it was a tie vote, signed the bill as Vice President, and signed it as President. A group of us were very much interested as to what he intended to do post-VE-day as to lend-lease under the new law and wrote the President a letter. This is part of his answer:

I am, of course, in full agreement with you that the Lend-Lease Act does not authorize aid for purposes of postwar relief, postwar rehabilitation, or postwar reconstruction, and that in the liquidation of any lend-lease war supply agreements, articles transferred after they are no longer necessary for the prosecution of the war should be disposed of only on terms of payment.

I find in this bill before us in the lend-lease appropriation a complete repudiation and violation of that principle which Congress has recently laid down, which the President voted for in the Senate, and approved as President. Remember that this \$4,000,000,000 of lend-lease is not for military supplies or munitions. None of it is for munitions. Oscar Cox, soon to be Lend-Lease Administrator, said so in the hearing.

Yesterday we passed a \$790,000,000 lend-lease appropriation in the bill for military supplies. This appropriation today is all for nonmilitary lend-lease. It includes \$1,495,000,000 of food and over a billion dollars of food is to go to European countries.

We set up the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration to take care of postwar relief.

The House of Representatives has voted for the Bretton Woods agreements which will finance postwar reconstruction. We are ready to implement further the Export-Import Bank. But what we have before us now is the proposition to furnish over a billion dollars' worth of food free under lend-lease to postwar Europe. I contend that every one of us knows enough about military affairs to realize when we furnish a billion dollars' worth of food to Europe now that it is not connected with the Japanese war. That is a postwar European relief project that should not be in lend-lease at all.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. I yield.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. I should just like to point out in that connection that there is more in this bill in the defense-aid item for France than there is for China.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. And there is more for lend-lease food than there is for lend-lease guns.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Yes. This is mostly all food.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Now here is the argument made before the committee, that there will be social unrest and political unrest in Europe if we do not feed them. Of course, there will be, but if that is ground for furnishing stuff as a matter of defense, then lend-lease, which we attempted to prohibit from entering the postwar-relief field, has become a postwar free-lunch counter for the world and we have no control over it.

UNRRA was set up to take care of postwar relief, both for countries that cannot pay for, and those who can pay but still need, food. UNRRA has broken down, but that is no excuse to substitute lend-lease for UNRRA. We furnish two-thirds of the money and also the top management of UNRRA. We should get UNRRA going, to handle relief to starving Europe, instead of violating the lend-lease law.

This appropriation does not pretend to care for the neediest countries—Greece, Poland, and so forth. It covers countries that need food but have resources, such as Britain, France, Belgium, and Holland.

Now, should we cut off food to those countries? No. We should write into this appropriation the same sort of amendment that we wrote into the lend-lease law, a provision that when we furnish lend-lease food to those European countries they pay for it. If they do not have the cash we will take credit, but the issue is just this simple, either Britain, France, Norway, Belgium, and Holland pay for their postwar food—and every one of them except Britain are paying countries under UNRRA, and Britain did not even want to come under UNRRA—either those countries pay for their groceries and add it to their own national debt, or we add it to our national debt. It seems to me that a very simple amendment would take care of this situation and would carry out the principle that our President has just approved in this letter that I have just

read. We should write into this bill a provision that those countries that receive postwar food from lend-lease, not for use in the Japanese war, should pay for it on terms provided by the President.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. MURRAY].

FOOD IN RELATION TO LEND-LEASE

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, in response to a recent request, the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations on June 7 furnished me with various statistics, but stated that "that part of the export table which shows a break-down of lend-lease data remains confidential, as you will note, and may not be published without prior clearance by the Foreign Economic Administration."

In a letter dated June 26, Mr. Alfred E. Davidson, General Counsel of the Foreign Economic Administration, stated that "although the Foreign Economic Administration has no objection to your use of this information, we wish to point out that the figures are not our own, and, in addition, are designated as 'preliminary,' as you will observe in the upper right-hand corner of each page."

I have tried to secure the facts as to the foreign and domestic food picture. I hope to present it at a future time. The following table indicates the foods exported during the war period:

Exports (domestic) of major food products from the United States under lend-lease as compared with total exports of food products, Mar. 11, 1914-Dec. 31, 1944 (preliminary)

Commodity exported	Quantity, year ended Dec. 31—			Value, year ended Dec. 31—		
	Mar. 11, 1941-42 ¹	1943	1944	Mar. 11, 1941-42	1943	1944
Meats, fresh and pickled (pounds): ²						
Lend-lease exports.....	193,790,000	724,215,000	822,895,000	\$39,595,000	\$152,579,000	\$210,746,000
Total exports.....	247,206,000	745,933,000	849,331,000	41,675,000	156,554,000	214,819,000
Pork, cured (pounds): ³						
Lend-lease exports.....	395,249,000	258,823,000	202,023,000	84,417,000	65,651,000	51,239,000
Total exports.....	417,115,000	262,612,000	206,299,000	89,298,000	66,778,000	52,389,000
Meats, canned (pounds): ⁴						
Lend-lease exports.....	842,159,000	1,012,347,000	591,922,000	295,199,000	380,359,000	228,205,000
Total exports.....	851,035,000	1,015,037,000	594,880,000	138,135,000	382,097,000	229,653,000
Other meats (pounds): ⁵						
Lend-lease exports.....	16,863,000	21,444,000	73,329,000	3,861,000	5,864,000	27,936,000
Total exports.....	27,413,000	22,060,000	75,359,000	6,277,000	6,078,000	28,466,000
Lard, including neutral (pounds):						
Lend-lease exports.....	815,635,000	664,268,000	700,242,000	101,998,000	110,228,000	120,880,000
Total exports.....	991,634,000	736,357,000	858,387,000	121,623,000	121,083,000	143,821,000
Oleomargarine (pounds):						
Lend-lease exports.....	28,732,000	96,886,000	77,451,000	3,972,000	15,933,000	14,414,000
Total exports.....	31,339,000	97,719,000	79,010,000	4,336,000	16,080,000	14,708,000
Other animal oils (pounds): ⁶						
Lend-lease exports.....	15,298,000	34,818,000	5,069,000	1,942,000	4,631,000	707,000
Total exports.....	56,971,000	70,579,000	43,486,000	6,725,000	8,065,000	4,913,000
Condensed and evaporated milk (pounds):						
Lend-lease exports.....	815,866,000	467,780,000	558,258,000	67,034,000	54,923,000	67,051,000
Total exports.....	1,014,877,000	574,028,000	593,083,000	86,790,000	57,052,000	71,729,000
Dried milk, including infants' foods (pounds):						
Lend-lease exports.....	168,557,000	259,013,000	223,611,000	22,124,000	38,510,000	43,834,000
Total exports.....	202,278,000	272,579,000	244,876,000	32,910,000	44,468,000	62,810,000
Butter (pounds):						
Lend-lease exports.....	13,347,000	99,182,000	86,690,000	5,196,000	41,847,000	47,885,000
Total exports.....	17,647,000	99,634,000	87,558,000	6,855,000	42,072,000	48,317,000
Cheese (pounds):						
Lend-lease exports.....	387,333,000	156,289,000	295,087,000	93,059,000	41,849,000	89,172,000
Total exports.....	596,217,000	157,743,000	296,914,000	95,354,000	42,399,000	89,818,000
Eggs, dried, etc. (pounds): ⁷						
Lend-lease exports.....	232,427,000	232,004,000	243,102,000	197,057,000	267,167,000	299,430,000
Total exports.....	235,124,000	234,017,000	244,935,000	199,547,000	269,480,000	301,574,000
Rice, milled (pounds):						
Lend-lease exports.....	31,928,000	220,226,000	65,650,000	1,799,000	13,998,000	4,644,000
Total exports.....	654,871,000	540,139,000	454,684,000	34,470,000	36,561,000	32,582,000
Wheat flour (barrels):						
Lend-lease exports.....	2,116,000	3,124,000	3,192,000	5,775,000	18,965,000	23,612,000
Total exports.....	8,967,000	6,758,000	8,507,000	39,989,000	39,644,000	68,902,000
Wheat, grain (bushels):						
Lend-lease exports.....	1,076,000	499,000	967,000	1,038,000	1,450,000	1,850,000
Total exports.....	17,625,000	11,841,000	10,381,000	16,365,000	16,196,000	16,898,000

¹ Total exports include the period Apr. 1, 1941, to Dec. 31, 1942.

² Includes beef, veal, mutton, lamb, and pork, fresh and pickled. (In 1941-42, total exports included 18,000 pounds of horse meat.)

³ Includes bacon, hams, shoulders, Cumberland and Wiltshire sides.

⁴ Includes poultry and game, fresh, sausage, not canned, tongues, kidneys, livers, sausage ingredients, and other meats, fresh, frozen, pickled, or cured.

⁵ Includes also oil, oleo stock, oleo stearin, tallow, neat's-foot oil, fish oils, grease stearin, stearin acid, oleic acid or red oil, and other animal oils, fats, and greases.

⁷ Includes eggs, dried, frozen, or otherwise prepared; except albumen.

Exports (domestic) of major food products from the United States under lend-lease as compared with total exports of food products, Mar. 11, 1914-Dec. 31, 1944 (preliminary)—Continued

Commodity exported	Quantity, year ended Dec. 31—			Value, year ended Dec. 31—		
	Mar. 11, 1914-42	1943	1944	Mar. 11, 1914-42	1943	1944
Corn, grain (bushels):						
Lend-lease exports	10,846,000	1,124,000	852,000	\$9,875,000	\$1,153,000	\$1,338,000
Total exports	27,831,000	5,133,000	10,231,000	24,772,000	6,157,000	14,565,000
Biscuits and crackers (pounds):						
Lend-lease exports	6,840,000	43,538,000	6,439,000	750,000	5,519,000	1,091,000
Total exports	15,530,000	47,215,000	13,854,000	2,599,000	6,265,000	3,079,000
Other prepared grain foods (pounds): ^a						
Lend-lease exports	65,928,000	113,873,000	123,532,000	2,564,000	5,361,000	6,077,000
Total exports	133,841,000	146,426,000	171,918,000	7,147,000	7,912,000	10,366,000
Beans and peas, dried (pounds):						
Lend-lease exports	313,147,000	441,553,000	359,465,000	16,203,000	25,261,000	24,821,000
Total exports	419,994,000	470,853,000	394,838,000	22,060,000	27,290,000	27,713,000
Vegetables and juices, canned (pounds):						
Lend-lease exports	167,006,000	136,475,000	258,135,000	9,371,000	8,964,000	25,393,000
Total exports	349,422,000	150,084,000	273,078,000	23,125,000	12,114,000	27,266,000
Vegetables, dehydrated (pounds): ^b						
Lend-lease exports		29,025,000	54,606,000		9,451,000	23,216,000
Total exports		30,875,000	55,564,000		10,049,000	23,818,000
Soya flour ^c (pounds):						
Lend-lease exports		73,873,000	53,969,000		3,522,000	2,712,000
Total exports		74,407,000	56,615,000		3,550,000	2,839,000
Fruits, dried and evaporated (pounds):						
Lend-lease exports	404,132,000	292,484,000	292,631,000	25,918,000	27,819,000	\$9,975,000
Total exports	560,562,000	337,269,000	513,277,000	36,604,000	32,592,000	60,743,000
Fruits, canned including pulp (pounds):						
Lend-lease exports	69,994,000	72,785,000	110,290,000	6,805,000	7,733,000	13,258,000
Total exports	104,929,000	80,020,000	118,087,000	9,939,000	8,652,000	14,266,000
Fruit juices (gallons):						
Lend-lease exports	1,310,000	4,814,000	4,057,000	3,530,000	13,537,000	16,762,000
Total exports	9,352,000	7,209,000	9,020,000	7,431,000	15,278,000	21,167,000
Expressed oils (pounds): ^d						
Lend-lease exports	88,308,000	409,273,000	380,468,000	12,200,000	61,939,000	57,169,000
Total exports	213,176,000	460,704,000	416,976,000	25,662,000	69,296,000	63,479,000
Cornstarch and corn flour (pounds):						
Lend-lease exports	305,385,000	176,164,000	104,490,000	10,302,000	7,393,000	6,399,000
Total exports	387,975,000	182,266,000	120,914,000	13,165,000	7,687,000	7,167,000
Sugar, refined (pounds):						
Lend-lease exports	211,665,000	11,144,923,000	501,628,000	10,116,000	50,750,000	29,160,000
Total exports	393,831,000	11,180,933,000	538,678,000	16,903,000	52,233,000	30,789,000
Canned fish (pounds, nonagricultural):						
Lend-lease exports	255,224,000	228,963,000	95,291,000	35,458,000	41,711,000	28,757,000
Total exports	333,401,000	235,890,000	107,952,000	43,678,000	42,677,000	30,726,000
Soybeans (pounds):						
Lend-lease exports	32,325,000	71,755,000	10,370,000	1,412,000	2,975,000	587,000
Total exports	39,213,000	79,731,000	30,027,000	1,636,000	3,251,000	1,307,000
Total above food products:				1,068,571,000	1,487,051,000	1,518,320,000
Lend-lease exports				1,155,076,000	1,609,605,000	1,700,689,000
Total other food products: ^e						
Lend-lease exports				40,481,000	37,241,000	37,685,000
Total exports				300,918,000	89,694,000	169,280,000
Total food products:				1,109,052,000	1,524,292,000	1,555,405,000
Lend-lease exports				1,455,988,000	1,699,299,000	1,869,969,000

^a Includes oatmeal, groats, and rolled oats, hominy and corn grits, corn cereal foods ready to eat, macaroni, spaghetti and noodles, wheat cereal foods, ready to eat and to be cooked, wheat semolina, and other cereal foods.

^b Not separately classified prior to Jan. 1, 1943.

^c Includes edible and inedible oils.

^d Includes 400,000,000 pounds of raw sugar exported from the port of Puerto Rico to the United Kingdom.

^e Other food products include items not listed separately, such as fresh fruits, other grains and vegetables, nuts, molasses, etc. Compiled from official records, Foreign Economic Administration and Bureau of the Census.

Total exports of food products were released for publication VE-day. Data on lend-lease exports by commodity remain confidential and may not be published without prior clearance by the Foreign Economic Administration.

Before any hasty conclusions are drawn from these tables it should be pointed out that other factors should be taken into consideration. One of these is the general agricultural imports and exports as shown in the testimony of Mr. William Clayton before the Ways and Means Committee, shown on page 187 of the hearings on H. R. 2652. The table inserted by Mr. Clayton follows:

Value of United States exports and imports of total agricultural products, 1920-44¹
(Millions of dollars)

Year	Exports of agricultural products ²	Imports of agricultural products ³		
		Total agricultural imports	"Supplementary" agricultural imports ⁴	"Complementary" agricultural imports ⁵
1920	3,443	3,249	2,157	1,092
1921	2,114	1,319	735	584
1922	1,884	1,607	834	773
1923	1,820	2,028	1,094	934

Footnotes at end of table.

Value of United States exports and imports of total agricultural products, 1920-44—Continued

Year	Exports of agricultural products	Imports of agricultural products ³		
		Total agricultural imports	"Supplementary" agricultural imports ⁴	"Complementary" agricultural imports ⁵
1924	2,110	1,911	984	927
1925	2,136	2,340	1,001	1,339
1926	1,817	2,416	973	1,443
1927	1,885	2,221	996	1,225
1928	1,863	2,100	955	1,145
1929	1,693	2,218	1,017	1,201
1930	1,201	1,469	701	768
1931	821	1,008	447	561
1932	662	668	296	372
1933	694	732	365	367
1934	733	821	413	408
1935	747	1,072	589	483
1936	709	1,242	695	547
1937	797	1,574	868	711
1938	828	1,956	977	479
1939	655	1,118	596	522
1940	517	1,285	543	742
1941	669	1,668	785	883
1942	1,179	1,274	820	454
1943 ⁶	2,073	1,513	1,059	454
1944 ⁶	2,089	1,818	1,229	589

¹ In order to make the data comparable for all years figures for agricultural products during 1935 and 1936 as published by the Department of Commerce have been adjusted to exclude trade of alcoholic beverages, candy, moss, and dogs for breeding and to include trade of live silver foxes.

² Exports of United States merchandise.

³ General imports through 1933; imports for consumption thereafter.

⁴ Includes all agricultural commodities more or less similar to those produced commercially in the United States and all others that are interchangeable in use to any significant extent with those produced commercially in the United States. These agricultural products are imported because of deficient domestic supplies, special quality or use, differences in marketing seasons, or other economic considerations. Many of them are subject to high import duties.

⁵ Includes all others (compare footnote 4). About 95 percent of the imports in this category consists of rubber, coffee, raw silk, cacao beans, carpet wool, bananas, tea, and spices.

⁶ Preliminary.

Source: Compiled from records of the Department of Agriculture.

I include at this point a letter from the general counsel together with a condensed statement on lend-lease and reverse lend-lease:

Lend-lease food exports compared with food received under reverse lend-lease, cumulative from beginning of program to Jan. 1, 1945

[Thousands of pounds]

	Lend-lease exports	Foods received under reverse lend-lease
Meat and fish ¹	5,209,802	691,942
Dairy products.....	2,991,225	383,640
Fruits and vegetables.....	1,979,052	1,164,412
Sugar.....	2,477,430	561,912
Grain and cereal products.....	1,777,642	564,659

¹ Including total lend-lease deliveries of beef and veal during the period of 281,000,000 pounds. Beef and veal received during the same period from Australia and New Zealand alone under reverse lend-lease totaled 252,102,000 pounds.

² Exports from continental United States only. Does not include lend-lease shipments made from Caribbean area and South America.

FOREIGN ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D. C., June 26, 1945.
Hon. REID F. MURRAY,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MURRAY: Your request to have the Foreign Economic Administration release the confidential document in your possession, entitled "Exports (Domestic) of Major Food Products from the United States Under Lend-Lease as Compared With Total Exports of Food Products—From March 11, 1941, Through December 31, 1944," has been referred to me by Mr. Crowley.

It is my understanding that you wish to use these figures in connection with a proposed speech on the floor of the House and in connection with current debate on food questions. Although the Foreign Economic Administration has no objection to your use of this information, we wish to point out that the figures are not our own and, in addition, are designated as "preliminary," as you will observe in the upper right hand corner of each page. This means that, while the figures may be useful as approximations of what has been exported, they are subject to con-

siderable adjustment and cannot be deemed accurate.

As I indicated to you in my earlier letter of June 20 and as Mr. Howard has said in his conversations with you, we feel that the less detailed but more up-to-date and reliable data we furnished you will be more helpful in presenting the facts on lend-lease food shipments.

I trust that you will find the information useful. If there is anything further I can do to be of assistance to you in this matter, please do not hesitate to call upon me at any time.

Sincerely yours,

ALFRED E. DAVIDSON,
General Counsel.

One must not only take the total imports of food in consideration but also keep in mind the reverse lend-lease and purchases of food by the Army and Navy in other countries.

The general imports are also shown in the following table from the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations:

Imports (for consumption) of major food products into the United States as compared with total imports of food products, 1941-44 (preliminary)

Commodity imported	Unit	Quantity, year ended Dec. 31—				Value, year ended Dec. 31—			
		1941	1942	1943	1944	1941	1942	1943	1944
SUPPLEMENTARY ¹									
Cattle (durable)	Number	733,000	653,000	615,000	341,000	\$21,458,000	\$22,943,000	\$18,687,000	\$15,848,000
Butter	Pounds	3,724,000	20,081,000	3,264,000	1,731,000	737,000	3,250,000	782,000	404,000
Casein or lactarine	Pounds	41,518,000	16,819,000	28,426,000	47,225,000	3,802,000	3,500,000	2,867,000	4,561,000
Cheese	Pounds	20,013,000	24,217,000	25,200,000	9,045,000	3,899,000	4,577,000	4,389,000	1,863,000
Honey	Pounds	3,337,000	20,049,000	36,654,000	23,633,000	83,000	1,221,000	2,979,000	2,163,000
Beef, canned, including corned	Pounds	104,334,000	91,557,000	105,540,000	87,220,000	13,154,000	14,152,000	18,643,000	15,245,000
Other meats	Pounds	58,376,000	35,615,000	25,277,000	35,488,000	6,203,000	5,068,000	5,474,000	8,949,000
Sausage casings	Pounds	22,004,000	18,097,000	14,537,000	16,854,000	5,897,000	6,640,000	7,826,000	7,662,000
Tallow, edible and inedible	Pounds	34,381,000	77,356,000	40,741,000	76,310,000	1,132,000	4,283,000	2,804,000	5,478,000
Fruits and preparations (excludes bananas) ²		(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	13,406,000	10,804,000	20,102,000	24,038,000
Barley, grain	Bushel	898,000	6,387,000	44,607,000	42,113,000	520,000	4,276,000	31,366,000	39,008,000
Oats, grain	do	6,021,000	9,528,000	76,784,000	80,554,000	2,251,000	4,026,000	39,790,000	59,690,000
Wheat, including flour ⁴	do	15,826,000	9,861,000	58,760,000	136,226,000	10,957,000	7,146,000	65,877,000	181,263,000
Other grains and preparations		(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	6,999,000	1,938,000	6,973,000	20,265,000
Oils and fats, expressed		(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	54,961,000	32,840,000	37,835,000	44,848,000
Sugar	Short ton	3,738,000	2,007,000	3,361,000	3,863,000	153,364,000	108,487,000	186,905,000	212,237,000
Molasses	Gallon	412,885,000	222,288,000	152,970,000	307,550,000	23,903,000	30,411,000	27,067,000	59,025,000
Turnips and rutabagas	Pound	132,156,000	145,171,000	197,306,000	157,527,000	1,179,000	1,468,000	3,014,000	2,072,000
Tomatoes, fresh	do	132,230,000	129,913,000	174,438,000	187,565,000	3,485,000	3,895,000	7,235,000	12,772,000
Tapioca	do	326,084,000	81,830,000	50,284,000	48,403,000	7,737,000	2,776,000	2,507,000	2,503,000
Potatoes, certified seed	do	44,693,000	46,203,000	63,389,000	116,484,000	549,000	857,000	1,434,000	2,739,000
Beans, peas, and chickpeas, dried	do	27,340,000	28,964,000	124,026,000	70,357,000	1,118,000	1,264,000	4,866,000	2,760,000
Other vegetables and preparations		(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	5,565,000	3,806,000	13,189,000	14,351,000
Nuts and preparations		(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	18,797,000	8,142,000	5,644,000	22,794,000
Wines	Gallon	1,660,000	1,024,000	4,186,000	8,173,000	4,081,000	2,556,000	9,433,000	19,204,000
Fish ⁵	Pound	305,875,000	277,111,000	324,056,000	339,374,000	28,040,000	28,953,000	43,536,000	53,311,000
Salt ⁶		30,864,000	15,507,000	2,515,000	11,107,000	59,000	29,000	13,000	32,000
Total above food products (supplementary).						393,426,000	319,308,000	571,237,000	835,085,000
COMPLEMENTARY ¹									
Cacao beans and shells thereof	Pound	692,922,000	239,651,000	574,642,000	682,308,000	39,086,000	18,534,000	39,237,000	46,067,000
Coffee (except into Puerto Rico)	do	2,254,682,000	1,714,655,000	2,198,177,000	2,606,683,000	177,385,000	205,362,000	273,348,000	325,980,000
Tea	do	107,081,000	49,573,000	89,089,000	90,244,000	29,160,000	18,343,000	28,834,000	30,274,000
Bananas	Bunch	51,662,000	27,199,000	24,729,000	31,686,000	29,725,000	16,181,000	15,397,000	21,049,000
Spices	Pound	144,811,000	46,807,000	19,777,000	27,520,000	17,470,000	12,120,000	8,936,000	11,340,000
Total above (complementary).						292,826,000	270,540,000	365,752,000	434,710,000
Other food products ⁶						13,759,000	11,532,000	23,928,000	27,206,000
Total all food products						700,011,000	601,380,000	960,915,000	1,297,001,000

¹ In the classification of agricultural imports into supplementary and complementary groups, all those similar to agricultural commodities produced commercially in the United States and all others that are interchangeable in use to any significant extent with such United States commodities are considered supplementary. Complementary include all others.

² See complementary group.

³ Value only.

⁴ Includes wheat for milling in bond and export.

⁵ Nonagricultural food.

⁶ "Other food products" include items not listed separately such as live poultry, maple sirup, confectionery, etc.

Source: Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations. Compiled from official records, Bureau of the Census.

When the domestic production of food products, agricultural imports, direct food purchases by the Army and Navy and reverse lend-lease are all taken into consideration, the amounts of food shipped through lend-lease can be fairly and properly appraised.

Let us all be sure to get all of the facts about the over-all war food problem before we make any statements that are

not for the best interests of the war effort.

It appears that—

First. The imports of foods, reverse lend-lease foods, the direct purchases of food by the Army and Navy exceed our food exports, and this includes the lend-lease exports.

Second. The facts appear to be that instead of boasting about feeding the world,

we have not fed the people of the United States in pounds, bushels, or tons.

Third. When the imports are figured on the point of origin, and when the exports are figured on declared value, one can see that the dollar imports and exports do not give the true or factual picture.

Fourth. A glance at table 4 indicates the point I am making. You will note

that in 1942, 20,000,000 pounds of butter were imported, costing and tabulated at 16 to 25 cents per pound. Table 1 shows that in the same years we exported from eighty-seven to ninety-nine millions of pounds at a declared value of about 41 cents per pound. In other words, for \$1, 6 pounds of butter were imported but only 2½ pounds of the same butter could be exported.

Fifth. In table 3 we see two billions in exports and one billion eight hundred thousand in agricultural imports. This is in dollars. However, it is evident that using these same figures, no doubt more pounds, bushels, and tons of agricultural products were imported than were exported. When the reverse lend-lease are added to the imports, and they should in fairness be done if the lend-lease are to be figured as exports; and when the agricultural purchases in other countries is added to these, it appears to me we have secured more food outside the United States than has been shipped out of the United States. This may not coincide with the Washington propaganda, but if I am in error, please have someone correct me.

In the meantime, let us have more factual information on this food problem. There is no reason to continue to deceive the consumers of America, and there is no reason to be a party to deceiving the world about feeding them when the food we send them or its equivalent must be purchased in some other country in order to furnish food for our own people.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. LATHAM].

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York is recognized for 4 minutes.

Mr. LATHAM. Mr. chairman, there is not a Member of this House who is more willing than I to supply the necessities of life to the people of Europe who are starving.

I was somewhat startled, however, the other day when I was shown the reprint of an ad in the New York Sun on May 31, which was inserted by Macy's Department Store in New York City.

This ad reads in part:

Beginning tomorrow, June 1, you can send 11 pounds of food and necessities to civilians in France * * *. No ration points needed. * * * Delivery is guaranteed. And we will be glad to take a standing order for packages to be shipped at regular intervals. * * * Orders in any quantity will be filled for corporations, organizations, clubs. One package per person each week is permissible.

What surprised me, Mr. Chairman, were the contents of these packages which were being shipped, point free, and in any quantity to these civilians in France.

There are several combinations of food which make up the various packages. One of them which has been designated as "F-8," and which sells for \$7.73, contains, among other articles, one pound of sugar, 12 ounces of luncheon meat, chocolate bars, three pairs of women's hose, and bobby pins. Other packages, which cost less, contain articles such as

one pound of butter, 13 ounces of Pabst cheese, and four cakes of soap.

Now, I have been under the impression, Mr. Chairman, that these things which I have enumerated are really scarce, and that the available supply is strictly limited. I know that in my home we frequently go without butter and sugar, and in a recent release the OPA has indicated that the supply of canning sugar for home use will be cut even further. For a long time our people have had great difficulty in obtaining either Pabst cheese or luncheon meat at the corner store. I have also observed that a good portion of our female population these days manages to struggle along without hose of any kind, and I would not call three pairs a week an absolute necessity for even the famous beauties of France.

This ad says that orders will be filled in any quantity for corporations, organizations and clubs. How easy it would be for two or three of us to get together and call ourselves a club and ship unlimited amounts of high priority food and material to some distant cousin on the other side.

The ad says that one package may be sent each week per person. In other words, without forming ourselves into a club, each of us could send to a family of five in France every week 5 pounds of butter or sugar, 60 ounces of luncheon meat, and 15 pairs of women's hose.

Mr. Chairman, I have not checked into the operation of this plan, but I was assured today on the telephone from New York that these packages are still available for shipment. It would seem to me to be quite obvious that someone in the Office of Price Administration or the Foreign Economic Administration has left the door wide open to perpetrate a fraud on the American people.

I reiterate that I am perfectly willing that we share our food with our needy European friends, but I am not willing to agree that it is either fair or just to send over these articles, point free in wholesale quantities, irrespective of need, when they are not available to our own people.

It is high time that someone in this administration closed this gap which would permit some of our French friends, with relatives or friends over here, setting themselves up in the butter-and-egg business, or retail hosiery business.

In this connection I set forth Macy's ad. It reads as follows:

MACY'S: BEGINNING TOMORROW, JUNE 1, YOU CAN SEND 11 POUNDS OF FOOD AND NECESSITIES TO CIVILIANS IN FRANCE AT PARCEL-POST RATES

We've special parcels ready for you. No ration points needed. The Macy low price includes everything—food, packing, shipping, insurance. Delivery is guaranteed. And, we'll be glad to take a standing order for packages to be shipped at regular intervals. Gift-package canteen, fifth floor.

No. F-5, \$5.34: 1 pound of sugar, 1 pound powdered milk, 1 pound orange marmalade, 1 pound of French roast coffee, 1 pound of split peas, 8 ounces breakfast sausage, 2 packages chicken noodle soup, 1 pound dried figs, 2 cakes of soap.

No. F-6, \$5.96: 1 pound of butter, 1 pound orange marmalade, 2 pounds French roast coffee, 1 pound instant cocoa, 1 pound of split

peas, 5 ounces dried eggs, 3½-ounce chocolate bar, 1 cake of soap.

No. F-7, \$6.98: 1 pound butter, 1 pound rice, 13 ounces Pabst-Ett cheese, 2 pounds of French roast coffee, 7-ounce chocolate bar, 5 ounces dried eggs, 14 ounces farina, 1 pound honey, 4 cakes of soap.

No. F-8, \$7.73: 1 pound of sugar, 2 pounds of French roast coffee, 12 ounces luncheon meat, 4 ounces tea, one-half pound instant cocoa, 7-ounce chocolate bar, 2 packages bouillon cubes, 4 cakes of soap, 6 pairs of men's hose or 3 pairs of women's hose, 1 sewing kit, 10 razor blades or bobby pins.

Orders in any quantity will be filled for corporations, organizations, clubs.

One package per person each week is permissible.

Mrs. NORTON. Mr. Chairman, on yesterday, the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SMITH] refused to yield to me to set him straight on some of the obviously unfair and untrue statements he addressed to the House. Therefore, I think in justice to the House Committee on Labor, I should correct him. He seems to be in doubt as to the authorship of H. R. 2232. I would advise him that it is a bill which is a composite of 13 separate bills introduced by an almost equal number of Democrats and Republicans. The final bill is the result of consideration by the full Labor Committee with the assistance of the legislative counsel. The principle upon which the bill is built is that written by our late President Roosevelt in his three Executive orders setting up the FEPC.

If the House had an opportunity to debate this bill, any Member would have the right to offer amendments. What the Committee on Labor objects to is the "little dictatorship" of the Rules Committee which denies the House its right to debate this bill or any bill.

I have always understood that the Rules Committee is set up merely to pass upon the advisability of granting various types of rules for the consideration of bills and the method of bringing them to the floor. It most certainly is not the province of the Rules Committee to encroach upon the functions of standing committees of the House and rewrite legislation which is brought before it. That is the function of the House itself if it so desires, not the privilege of 12 men making up one of the very smallest committees of this House.

The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SMITH] states also that the only hearing in opposition to this measure which was held, was held in the Rules Committee. Hearings were held in the Labor Committee from June 1 through June 16, 1944, at which time the proponents had concluded their testimony. The House was in recess shortly thereafter and I announced in the press that on November 16, hearings would resume and opponents would then be heard. I restated this several times later publicly in the press and in answer to letters, and I also advised the members of the committee, but no opponents appeared although we would have been glad to hear the opposition and take under consideration any suggestions made in good faith. Why did not the gentleman from Virginia ask to be heard at that time? Could it be that he knew he had a way

open in the Rules Committee to kill the bill when a rule was sought?

About the suggestion made to the chairman of the subcommittee, that the bill be resubmitted, I have no knowledge. What I do know is, that no such suggestion was made to me or to the committee. As to the expressed opinion of the gentleman from West Virginia, he is quite capable of replying to your statements himself.

As to the admitted view of the Member from Virginia that the Rules Committee is judge and jury of all bills to be considered, I heartily disagree. Every standing committee of the House has its own responsibility to see that proper legislation comes to the floor, but I regret to say a few members of the Rules Committee can and have made it impossible for normal and proper legislation to be considered by the Membership of the House.

In conclusion, let me say, I believe it would be unthinkable to allow the FEPC to die. Great progress has been made under the Executive order of the President to protect minorities in their jobs. That is all H. R. 2232 seeks to do. Racial and religious intolerance and prejudice should have no place in America, particularly in view of the great and tragic sacrifices that have been made to secure freedom and justice throughout the world.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time. The gentleman from New York has exhausted his time. I ask that the Clerk read the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read the bill for amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

SALARIES, OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES

Committee employees: For an additional amount to pay the second assistant clerk, Committee on Claims, additional compensation at the rate of \$1,000 per annum so long as the position is held by the present incumbent, as authorized by House Resolution 290, of June 8, 1945, fiscal year 1946, \$1,000.

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. COCHRAN: On page 2, after line 20, insert a new paragraph as follows:

"Capitol Police force under the Sergeant at Arms. The compensation rates named under this head in the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act, 1946, are hereby increased from \$1,740 each to \$2,000 each for lieutenants; from \$1,680 each to \$1,920 each for sergeants; and from \$1,620 each to \$1,800 each for privates and for payment of such increases, fiscal year 1946, \$12,780."

Mr. BRADLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, when another amendment is proposed somewhat along the line of the amendment suggested by the gentleman from Missouri, I hope he will not raise a point of order.

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Chairman, as I told the Committee earlier in the day when the legislative appropriation bill went to the Senate, increases of less than 15 percent were given to the members of the Capitol Police force on the Senate pay roll. The situation is that the members of the Capitol Police on the

House pay roll work under the same captain as the Senate, they work under the same lieutenant and under the same sergeants, and they do identically the same work, but unless this amendment is agreed to they will receive less salary than the men on the Senate pay roll.

This matter was taken up by the Committee on Accounts and I am authorized to bring in a resolution which is privileged, placing the House police on the same basis as the Senate police. If that is not done you will have two checks, you will have two pay rolls, you will have a lot of bookkeeping and accounting like withholding of taxes and withholding of retirement, and so forth. The easiest way to do it is to place it in this bill.

I went before the Appropriations Committee and I advised that committee of the action of the Committee on Accounts.

I am frank to say to the House that this amendment is subject to a point of order. If anybody desires to make it, well and good. I stated to the House today in a speech I made complaining about the action that was taken in connection with the legislative appropriation bill where 14 different items were placed in that bill which had never been authorized by a legislative committee, that if any other amendment is offered to this bill under the heading "House of Representatives" that has not been authorized by the Accounts Committee I will make a point of order against it. I want the gentleman from Pennsylvania to understand that. If he makes a point of order against this amendment, all well and good.

Mr. BRADLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COCHRAN. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. BRADLEY of Pennsylvania. May I say to the distinguished gentleman from Missouri that I think he is being most unfair. Of course, he knows that because I think he will be doing wrong I do not propose to do a wrong, too. I could not with any fair-mindedness offer a point of order to the amendment he proposes. He is proposing to do something that corrects a situation which should be corrected. But the gentleman is very inconsistent, knowing, as he does, that I and other Members of the House, wanting to do justice to the policemen, would not make a point of order against this proposal. I repeat he is very unfair when he will not extend to the other employees of the House the same justice we want to give to the policemen.

Mr. COCHRAN. I may say to the gentleman from Pennsylvania that there are hundreds of employees in the House complaining about their salaries, but the Committee on Accounts has not authorized me to accept any other amendment but this one and for the protection of that committee I will be forced to make a point of order against any amendment that is offered.

Mr. BRADLEY of Pennsylvania. Without indulging in undue criticism of the gentleman, because he knows what I think of him personally and the position he has assumed in this House on many questions, may I say that if it is

true, as he states, that there are hundreds of other employees complaining about the injustice done to them because of their low salaries, then his committee has been derelict in its duty because it has not thoroughly examined the whole question and brought a proposal before this House many months ago.

Mr. COCHRAN. I will say to the gentleman that if he had been here and listened to the speech I made about an hour ago he would understand the situation that exists and what I said about the doorkeepers.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, this is a legislative item, but due to the fact that the Committee on Accounts, the legislative committee having jurisdiction of the subject, has taken official action, and that the gentleman from Missouri, Chairman COCHRAN, of the Committee on Accounts, has, by their direction, submitted the matter to the Committee on Appropriations, with their approval the Committee on Appropriations waives the point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. COCHRAN].

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read, as follows:

Doorkeeper's office: For payment of 50 pages, including 10 pages for duty at the entrances to the Hall of the House, from July 1 to December 31, 1945, both dates inclusive, at \$5 per day each, fiscal year 1946, \$46,000.

Mr. BRADLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read, as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. BRADLEY of Pennsylvania: Page 2, after line 24, insert:

"That there shall be paid out of the Treasury until otherwise provided by law, to the 30 messengers whose compensation is fixed at \$1,740 per annum each in the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act, 1946, additional compensation at the following rates:

"To 8 messengers assigned to duty at the doors leading to the House floor, \$760 per annum each, in addition to the compensation fixed in such act.

"To 8 messengers assigned to duty at the doors leading to the family galleries of the House, \$360 per annum each, in addition to the compensation fixed in such act.

"To 2 messengers assigned to duty at the doors leading to the tourist galleries of the House, \$300 per annum each, in addition to the compensation fixed in such act.

"To 12 messengers assigned to duty at the doors leading to the public galleries of the House, \$300 per annum each, in addition to the compensation fixed in such act."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Chairman, due to the fact that the Committee on Accounts has not authorized this increase in salaries, I am forced to make a point of order against it on the ground that it is legislation on an appropriation bill, and not authorized by law.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Pennsylvania desire to be heard?

Mr. BRADLEY of Pennsylvania. No, Mr. Chairman. Quite obviously the amendment is out of order in the same manner as the previous amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri.

The CHAIRMAN. The point of order is sustained.

The Clerk read as follows:

OFFICE OF PRICE ADMINISTRATION

Salaries and expenses: For all necessary expenses of the Office of Price Administration in carrying out the provisions of the Emergency Price Control Act of 1942, as amended by the act of October 2, 1942 (50 U. S. C. App. 901), and the provisions of the act of May 31, 1941 (55 Stat. 236), as amended by the Second War Powers Act, 1942 (50 U. S. C. App. 622), and acts amending or supplementing such acts, and all other powers, duties, and functions which may be lawfully delegated to the Office of Price Administration, including expenses of in-service training of employees, including salaries and traveling expenses of instructors; not to exceed \$55,000 for the employment of aliens; not to exceed \$30,000 for the temporary employment of persons or organizations, by contract or otherwise, without regard to section 3709, Revised Statutes, or the civil-service and classification laws; contract stenographic reporting services without regard to said section 3709; witness fees; printing and binding (not to exceed \$1,470,000, which limitation shall not apply to the printing of forms prescribed for use of trade or public, instructions, regulations, coupon books, price lists, and printing required for the conduct of litigation); not to exceed \$100,000 for test purchases, without regard to section 3648, Revised Statutes, and the act of December 29, 1941 (31 U. S. C. 529 and 82b), of commodities, services, or ration currency for enforcement purposes, authorization in each case to have approval prior to purchase of the Administrator, regional administrator, or the district director in the region or district in which the purchase is contemplated; traveling expenses (not to exceed \$7,949,700), including reimbursement, at not to exceed 3 cents per mile, of employees for expenses incurred by them in official travel in privately owned automobiles within the limits of their official stations, and expenses of appointees from point of induction in continental United States to their first post of duty in the Territories and return; hire of motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicles; not to exceed \$5,210,550 for deposit in the general fund of the Treasury for cost of penalty mail as required by section 2 of the act of June 23, 1944 (Public Law 364); fiscal year 1946, \$174,500,000: *Provided*, That no part of this appropriation shall be used for the compensation of any officer, agent, clerk, or other employee of the United States who shall divulge or make known in any manner whatever to any person the operations, style of work, or apparatus of any manufacturer or producer visited by him in the discharge of his official duties, or the amount or source of income, profits, losses, expenditures, or any particular thereof, set forth or disclosed in any questionnaire, report, return, or document, required or requested to be filed by order or regulation of the Administrator or to permit any questionnaire, report, return, or document or copy thereof or any book containing any abstract or particulars thereof to be seen or examined by any person except as provided by law; nor for any person who shall print or publish in any manner whatever, except as hereinafter provided, any questionnaire, report, return, or document or any part thereof or source of income, profits, losses, expenditures, or methods of doing business, appearing in any questionnaire, report, return, or document: *Provided further*, That the foregoing provisions shall not be construed to prevent or prohibit the publication or disclosure of studies, graphs, charts, or other documents of like general character wherein individual statistics or the source thereof is not disclosed or identified directly or indirectly nor to prevent the furnishing in confidence to the War Depart-

ment, the Navy Department, or the United States Maritime Commission, such data and information as may be requested by them for use in the performance of their official duties: *Provided further*, That no part of this appropriation shall be available for making any subsidy payments: *Provided further*, That no part of this appropriation shall be used to enforce any maximum price or prices on any agricultural commodity or any commodity processed or manufactured in whole or substantial part from any agricultural commodity, including milk and its products and livestock, unless and until (1) the Secretary of Agriculture has determined and published for such agricultural commodity the prices specified in section 3 (a) of the Emergency Price Control Act of 1942, as amended by Public Law 729, approved October 2, 1942, as amended; (2) in case of a comparable price for such agricultural commodity, the Secretary of Agriculture has held public hearings and determined and published such comparable price in the manner prescribed by section 3 (b) of said act as amended; and (3) the Secretary of Agriculture has determined after investigation and proclaimed that the maximum price or prices so established on any such agricultural commodity, including milk and its product and livestock, will reflect to the producer of such agricultural commodity a price in conformity with section 3 (c) of said act as amended: *Provided further*, That such maximum price or prices shall conform in all respects to the provisions of section 3 of Public Law 729 approved October 2, 1942, as amended: *Provided further*, That any employee of the Office of Price Administration is authorized and empowered, when designated for the purpose by the head of the agency, to administer to or take from any person an oath, affirmation, or affidavit when such instrument is required in connection with the performance of the functions or activities of said Office: *Provided further*, That none of the funds appropriated in this act shall be used to pay the salary or expenses of any person fixing maximum prices for different kinds, classes, or types of processed fruits and vegetables which are described in terms of specifications or standards, unless such specifications or standards were, prior to such order, in general use: *Provided further*, That as to appropriations and contract authorizations granted for the national defense, war agencies, and the prosecution of the war contained in this act and other appropriation acts, in addition to compliance with the provisions of section 303 of the Second Deficiency Appropriation Act, 1944, there shall be submitted to the Congress on January 3, 1946, a list showing the condition of the balances of each of such appropriations and contract authorizations together with recommendations for the repeal of such of those funds or portions thereof as are deemed no longer required for the purposes for which they were granted.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. TABER: On page 8, line 19, strike out the period, insert a colon and the following: "*Provided further*, That not more than \$1,000,000 shall be expended for promotional propaganda and information purposes."

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I have offered this amendment to cut down the operations on publicity in the Office of Price Administration from \$2,600,000 to \$1,000,000.

Perhaps one of the things that brings the Office of Price Administration into great disrepute in this country are the broadcasts that they continually send out containing so-called information

which is not correct. If we could get away from the idea that the only thing the Chief of the Office of Price Administration has to do is to propagandize the United States to support foolish regulations and operations that are inflationary and beyond the range of the law it would help the enforcement of the Price Control Act. At present they are spending \$2,600,000 a year. They have 546 people working and over 100 of them are editorial writers. It is a perfectly ridiculous situation. You can see enumerated on four or five pages, beginning on page 126 of the hearings, the activities to which I refer. It is in the interest of proper administration, it is in the interest of providing these people with plenty of money to do the things that ought to be done and keeping them from doing the things that get them into trouble.

I hope this amendment will be adopted.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this paragraph and all amendments thereto close in 5 minutes.

Mr. CURTIS. Reserving the right to object, would that give us an opportunity to be heard in favor of the amendment?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I modify the request. I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this paragraph and all amendments close in 15 minutes, the last 5 minutes to be reserved for the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS].

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Chairman, I hope the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York will prevail.

There is no chance that this Government can be restored to the people so long as we, year after year, appropriate millions and millions of dollars to these boards and bureaus for propaganda purposes. There is no chance that public issues can be fairly discussed by the citizens of this country and correct conclusions arrived thereon as long as the people are fed by propaganda and the source of their news is Government hand-outs.

We have a very able press in this country. In the city of Washington there are many, many able reporters. They can go to the source of the news and ascertain the facts and write the story as they see it. Instead of that, the last 12 years we have followed the policy of the Government, by using the taxpayers' money, writing what they think should be said and what they want said and handing it to the newspapers. There is no reason in the world why any Government function that is doing a good job should have funds to advertise that job. The people will find it out in due course.

A long time ago someone said, "Woe is the man who must be defended with words." Likewise we might say, "Woe is that Government board, bureau, or agency which must have millions and

millions of dollars to prove to the American people that it has some reason to exist."

We live in a time when people are confused about the tremendous problems facing the country and the world. They are entitled to the facts and all the facts. They are entitled to get both sides of the questions. But so long as their information consists solely of hand-outs from Government press agencies they get but a part of the story. They get propaganda; they get catch phrases and slogans, and real issues and real facts are obscured from the people.

Mr. Chairman, the OPA will use this propaganda money to sell the idea of a postwar OPA. It ought to end with the ending of the war. Let us take the Government off the necks of the people and give freemen a chance.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. CASE] is recognized.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. Chairman, I take this time to call the attention of the House to a proviso on page 8, because it applies not merely to the OPA appropriation but it applies generally to appropriations granted for national defense, not only in this bill but in all other appropriation acts.

Lest you have missed it, I want to read it. It is not long. The proviso reads:

Provided further, That as to appropriations and contract authorizations granted for the national defense, war agencies, and the prosecution of the war contained in this act and other appropriation acts, in addition to compliance with the provisions of section 303 of the Second Deficiency Appropriation Act, 1944, there shall be submitted to the Congress on January 3, 1946, a list showing the condition of the balances of each of such appropriations and contract authorizations together with recommendations for the repeal of such of those funds or portions thereof as are deemed no longer required for the purposes for which they were granted.

A similar provision was carried yesterday on the War Department appropriation bill. This language here is broad enough to cover not merely this bill, not merely the OPA appropriation, but it covers all other items in this bill and all other national defense, war agency items, items for the prosecution of the war, both appropriations and direct authorization acts, and other appropriation acts.

In other words, by the enactment of this paragraph Congress is establishing the principle that on the 3d of January 1946, we shall have a mid-year review of all these appropriations; and the agencies are called upon to submit that report of their balances and to submit with that recommendations for the repeal of any funds which at that time appear no longer required for the purpose for which they were granted.

It is only because of a proviso like that that I believe the Congress can justify the large appropriations carried in this bill for OPA, for defense aid, and some of the other activities without more detailed consideration than they are getting today. Without this provision you might be asked embarrassing questions about the total for defense aid in this bill. The Appropriations Committee has provided you with an escape provision under

which you can say: "Well, we are going at least to get a mid-year check on this with an opportunity to recapture some of the appropriations if we have over-appropriated or if the developments of the war are such that we have over-appropriated."

Now then, in the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] we have an opportunity immediately to recapture for better uses \$1,600,000. The estimates submitted to the committee contemplated \$2,600,000 for propaganda and publicity by the Office of Price Administration. The amendment presently pending offered by the gentleman from New York places a limitation of \$1,000,000 for that purpose thereby saying that the other \$1,600,000 may be used for better purposes by the Office of Price Administration.

It would be a most salutary thing if the country should learn that we are going to get news on the basis of news. Some day the country will learn that by encouraging a policy of government news handouts we have undermined the character of the free press of this country. Here is an opportunity to limit the amount that may be used for propaganda purposes and let that money be used for better purposes.

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. I yield.

Mr. RABAUT. The gentleman knows there has been a cut established now of about \$6,000,000 that must be divided and allocated among the different funds.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Yes; I recognize that, but I recognize also that the House has already voted the transfer to the Department of Agriculture of responsibility for licensing slaughterhouses.

Mr. RABAUT. But the House is only one part of the legislative establishment of this country.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. That has been one of the major activities of the Office of Price Administration.

If the gentleman is worried about the cut that has already been made, he should certainly support the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York, because it releases from purposes of propaganda \$1,600,000 that could be assigned to some other activity in the Office of Price Administration.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CANNON] is recognized to conclude debate on the pending amendment.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, this is one of the most dangerous amendments that could be offered. OPA is the one barrier between the Nation and unbridled inflation. Our diplomatic representatives returning from foreign countries reporting to our committee say that in practically every other country in the world inflation has created such havoc that the cost of living is rising to incredible figures. No greater economic danger menaces the country today than the advance of uncontrolled inflation, and every resource at our command must be utilized to forestall it. The agencies implemented by the appropriation carried in this bill provide the only practical method we have of preventing a situation

that would bring an explosive upswing in the price of necessities that would involve an economic crash from which we would not recover in the next decade.

It must be remembered, Mr. Chairman, that the only way OPA can operate is through the force of public sentiment. If the people themselves were not back of the enforcement of OPA, black markets and runaway prices would sweep this country in 24 hours. It must be enforced solely and wholly through public opinion. Mr. Chairman, how can we reach the public? How can we mold public sentiment? How can we instruct the people? How can we educate except through the medium provided by this appropriation? We should not forget, Mr. Chairman, that in the process of keeping the people informed, in the process of keeping inflation in hand, that the appropriation which the gentleman seeks to reduce is the smallest expense involved. The magazines, newspapers, and radio channels over the country are willing to contribute their facilities. They are willing to give us millions of dollars worth of space and time—from the small weekly newspaper to the metropolitan dailies and Nation-wide radio networks. How can we utilize it?

We must have this money in order to formulate the messages to be carried in the papers and over the radio.

Mr. Chairman, this amendment affects not only the prosecution of the war but the orderly reconversion of the postwar period.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. I yield to the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Is it not true that this fund which it is suggested be cut 50 percent is the only medium which the Office of Price Administration has to let the people of the country know about their program, what their rules and regulations are, and what the changing economic situation is, and that to cripple it by this amendment would leave a most serious sort of situation so far as their whole enforcement program is concerned?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. The whole program is affected by this proposal. This fund is indispensable to the effective administration of OPA regulations.

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. RABAUT. I note in the hearings on page 52, Mr. Bowles said:

A part of our problem, an important part, is to keep them, the public, informed. I feel that the money spent in that way is wisely spent. We have tried to spend it very carefully. We cut our paper use 50 percent last year. We have tried not to do anything unusual during this period but I do feel that the publicity dollar is probably the best dollar that the agency spends in getting compliance.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. KNUTSON. What is the budget for OPA at the present time?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. The budget was \$6,000,000 more than we provided. The committee cut the budget \$6,000,000.

Mr. KNUTSON. I cannot understand this. I am told on this side that the budget was \$174,000,000.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. The budget was \$180,500,000. On the representation of a majority of the members of the committee and without assigning any specific reason, we made a blanket cut. The OPA people told us, and if you will read the hearings I think you will find that the testimony justifies that conclusion, that they needed every cent of the amount of the estimate. If you must cut it, apply the reduction anywhere but to this item. This is the item that must be retained intact.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has expired.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. TABER) there were—ayes 68, noes, 82.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, by direction of the Committee on Appropriations, I offer an amendment, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read, as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. CANNON of Missouri: On page 8, at the end of line 2, insert "Provided further, That no part of this appropriation shall be directly or indirectly used for the payment of the salary or expenses of any person who directs the formulation of any price policy, maximum price or price ceiling with respect to any article or commodity unless in the judgment of the Administrator such person shall be qualified by experience in business, industry or commerce; but this limitation shall not apply to the Administrator or acting Administrator, as the case may be, in considering, adopting, signing and promulgating price policies, maximum prices or price ceilings formulated and prepared in compliance herewith."

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, this amendment is self-explanatory and is carried in the current law.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the committee amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendments offered by Mr. JENSEN:

Page 5, line 5, after the word "Administrator", insert the words "or state."

Page 5, line 6, after the word "Administrator", strike out the word "or the District Director in the region or district."

Page 5, line 18, after the figure "\$174,500,000", insert "Provided, That no funds herein appropriated shall be used in maintaining regional or district offices or personnel."

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Chairman, I offer this amendment for a very definite reason. If you will remember when OPA was first organized we had 48 State directors under the National Administrator, and OPA operated much more efficiently than after it was regionalized. A lot of us criticized Leon Henderson, but I think it can be said now that Leon Henderson did a pretty good job as long as we had no regional or district offices

and Mr. Bowles will do a better job if and when he gets rid of all these cocky little czars. Leon Henderson made some appointments which were not pleasing to the New Deal higher-ups. So, in order to render the State directors helpless and powerless, they regionalized OPA. They cut across State lines and created districts and ever since that time we have had trouble no end in the OPA and a lot of it. They put part of my congressional district under the Omaha office, and we have had nothing but trouble and turmoil ever since. I am sure I voice the sentiments of most of the Members of this House and of the American people when I say that we should get back to State authority in OPA, and by so doing the Office of Price Administration will again function like it did before it was thoroughly cut up and regionalized. That is the purpose of my amendment. Someone may take the floor and say that these regional and district offices are now set up and that they cannot be tampered with at the present time. But I say to the Members of this House that if you want to make OPA function properly again, my amendment will at least help a lot to do the job. I hope my amendment will be adopted. At present the OPA has too many strangers from some other States laying the lash on good citizens in your State and mine.

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JENSEN. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. RABAUT. There are nine regional offices today. Does the gentleman want to set one up in every State?

Mr. JENSEN. No. Let the State offices take care of it like they did before. They did a good job then.

Mr. RABAUT. If the set-up was so good they would not have made a change.

Mr. JENSEN. Oh, the gentleman knows why the change was made. They wanted to render the States helpless. The gentleman knows that as well as I do. If you believe in State rights, if you believe at all in State rights, certainly you should support my amendment.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, as the gentleman has said, this is a States' rights amendment. But the States cannot be uniformly administered or supervised with equal efficiency. It is impractical to set up offices of this character in each State. The disparity between conditions within the States is too great. Some States have greater populations and consequently greater volumes of business than 8 or 10 other States combined. It is obviously impossible to junk the present system and administer it by States and do it effectively. The gentleman's amendment is unworkable. It would interfere not only with the efficient administration of OPA but with the economic administration of OPA.

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

It would interfere with the inefficiency of the OPA. That is what it would interfere with.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. I hardly believe the gentleman will find many

here who agree with him in that hasty estimate.

We must not only provide the funds for OPA but we must refrain from handicapping the business set-up with unreasonable limitations. I sincerely hope the amendment will not be agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. JENSEN].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. JENSEN) there were—ayes 68, noes 79.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. OUTLAND. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, we in this House have been debating for the past several days the continuance of the price-control program. We have added some amendments, some of which, I am afraid, may seriously impair the fight against inflation. If we are really going to hold the line here on the home front, it is absolutely imperative that we do nothing more than will directly or indirectly assist in breaking the line.

Now we are considering the appropriation bill which is taking care of the funds which continue the work of this agency over the next year. Today we have a serious responsibility—the responsibility to see that adequate funds are provided for a fair and just administration of the price-control program.

The chairman of the Committee on Appropriations mentioned a few moments ago that some \$6,000,000 had been taken indiscriminately away from this organization, and if I am using his own language correctly, and I think I am, he used the phrase "without rhyme or reason." I have the greatest admiration for the chairman and the other members of the great Appropriations Committee. But why should any funds be indiscriminately removed? Why should action be taken without rhyme or reason?

When I discovered that there had been \$6,000,000 taken away from the budget of the Office of Price Administration, I called the Administrator, Mr. Bowles, to ask him just what effect that would have on the price-control program. Without reading his letter in detail, I should like to quote two of the principal points that Mr. Bowles mentioned, because in the days ahead many of us are going to be asked rather pertinent questions on these two points.

Mr. Bowles said first:

It will deny us the opportunity to expand our enforcement staff to carry on the war against the black market. I doubt if the black marketeers receive any better news this year than the information that \$6,000,000 has been eliminated from our budget.

Mr. Chairman, I hope very much when this measure goes to the other body they will restore this \$6,000,000 so that we will not have to bear any of the blame here for taking funds away which would have helped to stop the black market. I for one do not wish to be recorded as one that helped to encourage this most dastardly of home-front offenses. But yet, if we do not appropriate sufficient funds for the proper administration of price control, that is exactly what we in this House will be doing.

Let me continue on Mr. Bowles' second point. Again I quote Mr. Bowles:

Elimination of this sum from our appropriation will sorely cripple us in promptly providing prices required by reconverters manufacturers. As you know from our testimony before the Banking and Currency Committee, we have set up a program calling not only for industry price adjustments to meet new situations of the reconversion period, but also for individual firm price adjustments. Unless we are able to employ added personnel these important undertakings will be delayed with serious results to the Nation's reconversion program.

In other words, Mr. Chairman, when we take \$6,000,000 from the budget of the Office of Price Administration, we are taking away funds which would help eliminate the black market, and we are taking away funds which would be used to help speed up and expedite the reconversion program. These are two vital functions that we have vested to the OPA. Without sufficient money they cannot be adequately performed. Mr. Chairman, we have a most solemn obligation here today; the obligation to do everything in our power to see that the Office of Price Administration is not so throttled by crippling budget cuts that they will not be able to do the job that we have entrusted to them.

I trust sincerely that these funds will be restored when the bill reaches the Senate. Partisanship, which has been demonstrated so frequently on this floor during this fight, should for once be made secondary to the interests of America. I feel certain that Republicans as well as Democrats are truly interested in an effective price-control program. I hope that that point of view will be demonstrated here today.

Mrs. NORTON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that I may extend my remarks at the conclusion of the general debate on this bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I join with my colleague from California [Mr. OUTLAND] in protesting against a cut in the OPA appropriation. I have not felt that the OPA was doing a perfect job. I supported some of the amendments to the bill and I offered one myself, but at the same time it seems to me the worst procedure that can possibly be followed is to have a law upon the statute books, particularly one that so intimately affects all the business dealings of the people of the Nation, and then not to effectively enforce that law. I think it is patent that in some instances it has not been effectively enforced. But the only way it can be effectively enforced is to have sufficient personnel to do the job. I am not in a position to judge exactly how much money would be required to do that, but I do know that \$180,000,000 is the amount approved by the Bureau of the Budget as necessary for the OPA. I frankly believe that that amount should be carried in the bill.

I understand the OPA has about one enforcement officer for each county in

the Nation. I do not believe that is enough. I think to do justice and fairness by the millions of people of this Nation who have earnestly sought to abide by this law, both consumers and producers, we ought at the very least to spare not one dime nor one bit of effort that we can put into the job of seeing to it that those who have not seen fit to obey and abide by that law should be brought to time and made to do so. To my mind, it has been one of our primary duties from the very beginning of OPA to try to hold up as an example the patriotic action on the part of the people of this Nation, the way in which a great majority of the citizens have made their action be in line with the law as they understood it. I believe it has been downright disloyal for people to illegally profiteer, as has been done wherever black-market dealings exist, and I think the Congress should provide every cent of money that the Budget recommended for this purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

Mr. Chairman, the way this \$6,000,000 is being talked of and I am afraid that undue importance will be put upon it. That is a cut of less than 3 percent from the Budget estimates. The bill still carries \$174,500,000 for OPA.

And the final amount will give OPA more than they had last year. Remember that in addition to that we shall be called upon in due time to make a supplementary appropriation to care for the war overtime pay of the OPA employees. That will come later.

As far as having money for enforcement activities is concerned, I picked up three letters from my mail today. The gist of these letters is that if OPA would attend to its major job and not spend so much time with little, picayunish activities and minor matters, it would do a better job; it would not need more employees.

Here is a letter from a man who has been chairman of the rationing and price control board in his county. It is a copy of his letter of resignation, going to the State office. He says:

I have been and still am in sympathy with rationing and price control, but in the past months I have found myself so far out of sympathy and in disagreement with certain policies that I do not feel that I can continue to effectively and conscientiously enforce the intention of the regulations on the public. To be explicit, the policy of restricting legitimate conventions, meetings, and conferences, and rationing A-book holders to the limited ration of gas while at the same time opening race tracks and encouraging attendance at them (at least from what I read in the papers and that is influential with the public): The policy of restricting stoves and fuel oil for homes while at the same time the ban is lifted on night clubs, places of amusement and recreation; the policy in price control that continuously checks legitimate retail establishments and puts on them a burden of reports, invoicing, and price-ceiling charts, while at the same time black markets increase and the public is encouraged to bring complaints against the local retailer, to look for trouble, that the OPA may inflict fines and penalties.

Then I have a letter from an old man whom I happen to know personally, a respected man, a good citizen in every respect.

He says:

The past week I had a man hired to do some work around the yard. While he was here he started talking on the OPA. He has a rather good-sized family, and his complaint was that whenever the OPA hiked points on any food production they just forced more buyers into the black market to get what they needed.

Asked how he explained it, the workman explained that he was convinced they sought to stimulate the black market in order that a larger force might be kept on the pay roll to watch the market and make more arrests to show that more employees were necessary.

I am sure that every Member of Congress is getting letters along this line. It is my belief that if the OPA addresses itself to major policies and eliminates some of its confusing regulations it will have more than enough money to do the job.

Here is a letter from a retailer who points out that he had been asked to set three different price schedules on shirts that he sold. He points out further that while he is not permitted to use his own price history as a base, yet the restaurant next door to him is told to use as a ceiling the prices they had in a certain month back in 1942.

I venture to suggest that if the OPA were to address themselves to eliminating some of its complex price regulations and getting away from some of its picayunish work it would find that the over-all job would be simplified and there would be plenty of money in the amount the committee has recommended.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from South Dakota has expired.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SABATH: Strike out in line 18, page 5, the figures "\$174,500,000" and insert "\$180,500,000."

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, in view of the statement of the Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, and those made by the gentleman from California and others I could not resist offering this amendment. The bill brings this item to us already reduced from \$180,000,000 to \$174,000,000 without any rhyme or reason, as the gentleman from Missouri stated.

I concede that the administration of OPA is not perfect. I too have received a great many letters complaining because OPA has refused to increase price ceilings, but in most cases my investigation shows that OPA has acted wisely, fairly and honestly trying to safeguard the best interests of the Nation from inflation and at the same time to protect the consumer.

I believe OPA should have this amount and even a larger amount to enable them properly to administer the law and stop the black market. I think what is going on is outrageous. The farmers and those of you from country districts have plenty of everything, including meat, poultry,

butter, milk and eggs, but unfortunately, the people in the large cities are deprived of those food commodities and I am constrained to believe that it is because many farmers dispose of whatever surpluses they may have to the black markets. Is that the reason why you do not want rigid enforcement? Between this situation on the farms on the one hand and that existing in the cities where the clubs, restaurants and hotels and the big boys with plenty of money can afford to pay black market prices two and three times above OPA ceiling prices, the plight of the common consumer is most trying and hard to bear. Consequently, I feel that with an additional amount of money the OPA, although not perfect, can bring about a more orderly distribution of the much needed meats and other food items and with better enforcement will put the black marketeers out of business. It is with this intent that I have offered my amendment. In view of the fact that it is believed that the Senate will increase the amount from \$174,000,000, why should we not have the courage to do likewise, especially since the appropriation will be expended in the right direction for the protection of the consumers, the bulk of whom are white-collar workers and wage earners. A vote against my amendment is a vote in the interest of racketeers. A vote for it is a vote in favor of enforcement of the law as it should be enforced.

No one, regardless whether possessing greater ability, could administer the arduous and trying duties of Price Administrator without being subjected to the same criticism and, perhaps, even more, than is the present incumbent, Mr. Chester Bowles. From the very inception of the Office of Price Administration we heard complaints as to the administration of the law by Mr. Leon Henderson, its first Administrator. Now the gentleman from Minnesota and others state that he did a good job. In a year or two we will hear praise and commendation of the man who today is zealously trying to safeguard and protect the consumers of our country from avaricious manipulators and black-market racketeers. He has a tough job to do because day in and day out he is pressured by representatives of various industries who demand higher, higher, and still higher price ceilings. He is standing four-square in an honest and just administration of this law to prevent inflation and, consequently, is subjected to their criticism in refusing to comply with their requests and wishes. We have listened to the reading of letters of complaint and censure from persons who have been denied higher price ceilings, but, taking everything into consideration, no man can do better than he in carrying out the provisions of the law. I am of the opinion that he is doing a splendid job and he should have the necessary funds. I wonder whether you will be fair and just and give the Office of Price Administration the funds that are actually needed for the proper administration and enforcement of the law.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this paragraph and all amend-

ments thereto close in 15 minutes, the last 5 minutes to be reserved to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. FOLGER].

Mr. FOLGER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this amendment. I do not think we should treat lightly or in a passing way the observation made by the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations who is handling this bill at the present time to the effect that price control is a vital activity of the Government. We are fortunate in this country, perhaps more fortunate than any country in the world, in that we have not suffered disastrous runaway inflation and high prices.

I call attention to the letter which Mr. Bowles wrote the gentleman from California [Mr. OUTLAND] in which he put his finger on two of the most important considerations. In that letter the Director pointed out two of the most important requirements for an increase of this appropriation to \$180,000,000. I beg the committee to give some attention to the statement made by the Director.

I do not care how much we may have complained about the OPA, and we all have complained, when you come down to the seriousness of what we are about, we are legislating for all the people of the United States. I have received letters, and you have too, asking us to retain price control and to appropriate a sufficient amount of money to enable the Administrator to carry out price control.

There are several things right now that are not adequately cared for, one of which is control of the black market. The Administrator needs more money to do that and he points out that fact in his letter to the gentleman from California [Mr. OUTLAND]. I know we want Mr. Bowles to see to it that people are not harassed by 25-cent mistakes out of million-dollar sales or mistakes of 2 or 3 cents that are made, the flippant, inconsequential things, and I hope he will read in the RECORD that I am appealing to him to leave that part of it alone. However, Mr. Chairman, the black market is becoming serious in this country and there is no way to handle it except by control and putting those who are willing to profit by it at the expense of all the people of this country in jail or somewhere else. But you have to find them before you can do that.

The other thing which he points out, Mr. Chairman, is that while there is an industry-wide ceiling policy which has been adopted, the lack of funds to go forward with individual ceilings where just, in itself is a breeder of trusts and monopolies in this country. That means to say that because of the lack of funds no adequate consideration can be given to the man of small means who is trying to manufacture or carry on his business, and no hearing accorded him in his problems because they have not the force to handle it. The second point that he makes in his letter to the gentleman is this: If one goes to him and says, "Mr.

Bowles, here is a man who is manufacturing 40 different articles, he has his brand and I have mine, I want to make honest goods at an honest price, but I cannot live under that industry-wide ceiling that is fixed for these great concerns. I want you to hear what I propose to put in my goods and I want you to hear what my honest and reasonable costs are, and give me a chance to live." Mr. Bowles says if you give him the money, he will do that thing. I ask you to adopt this amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER].

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, the trouble with the OPA is inefficient management. The way to get efficient management is to cut out foolish operations and devote yourself to the real business of the job. That is what we have tried to make them do.

Let us look at the picture that is presented to us. I have in front of me the hearings and the statement of Mr. Bowles: To carry on the present force of OPA would call for \$174,000,000. That appears on page 32 of the hearings.

We have repeatedly called attention to various things. When I was on the floor in general debate I called attention to the prosecution of a lawyer here in town last week, which was utterly vicious, and which wasted a great deal of the time of the enforcement section of the OPA. That occurred and came to a head and was published in the papers in the latter part of last week, right while the OPA bill was up. We have a terrible situation with reference to meat. We have a terrible situation with reference to the pricing of commodities that are coming out of the factories that are permitted to reconvert. If we do not cut down this amount and see that they are brought up short and tell them that they must be more efficient in their management, we will get no efficiency and we will have no reconversion. Let me say to you that if you really want them to do a good job you should cut them down to the point where they will get rid of these superfluous employees and put them on a business basis. The Administrator must stop running around the country and abusing people and saying things that are not so. He must stop making promises to industry which he does not live up to. He must put his own house in order, and the only way that he can be made to do that is by cutting down this appropriation and making him do a decent job. When he says that \$174,000,000 will let him carry on his present force, it is perfectly ridiculous to try to increase it. You are working in favor of inflation and in favor of destroying your Office of Price Administration when you raise him and give him more money.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. GROSS. May I say to the gentleman that I talked with probably a hundred people in my district yesterday, and more people expressed a feeling of relief over the amendments adopted to the OPA bill than I have ever heard

expressed in all the years I have been in public life.

Mr. OUTLAND. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. OUTLAND. Mr. Bowles stated in his letter to me that the cutting down of this fund would seriously impair the fight on the black market.

Mr. TABER. The only thing to do is not to permit him to go on and do the foolish things that he has been doing. We must stop it and prevent the inefficiencies in the OPA, and the only way you can do that is by cutting out these activities that ought not to be indulged in.

Mr. OUTLAND. Does the gentleman favor the black market?

Mr. TABER. Let me say you are promoting the black market when you give them more money with which to do these foolish things. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Mason].

Mr. MASON. The theory upon which this demand for an increased appropriation for OPA is based is the theory that more money will remove the inefficiency that has existed in that office. That is a false premise.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cannon].

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I regret that the gentleman from Illinois has offered this amendment for the reason that the vote on it will not be a test of the merits of the proposition. The committee must necessarily oppose the amendment, not because its members may not be in sympathy with it but because we have reported this amount carried in the bill and must adhere to it. I cannot agree, however, with any statement that the gentleman from New York made. No conclusion he has drawn is justified by the testimony which was adduced before the committee. His strictures on the personnel and administration are especially unfortunate. There are over 200,000 voluntary employees engaged with this activity, who are contributing their work, sacrificing time and energy in an effort to hold the home front, and the reflection upon them and upon Administrator Bowles and his exceptionally able staff is not only unwarranted but is based upon no evidence submitted to the committee.

In view of the fact that we reported the amount carried in the bill, the committee must adhere to that figure. I ask that the amendment be defeated. But the vote on the amendment should not be taken as an expression of the attitude of the House.

The CHAIRMAN. All time for debate on the pending amendment has expired.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Sabath].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. Sabath and Mr. Outland) there were—ayes 47, nays 93. So the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

Loans: For an additional amount for "Loans", Rural Electrification Administration, fiscal year 1946, \$50,000,000, which sum shall be borrowed from the Reconstruction

Finance Corporation in accordance with the provisions of section 3 (a) of the Rural Electrification Act of 1936, as amended.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma: Page 24, line 9, strike out "\$50,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$120,000,000."

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Mr. Chairman, the purpose of the pending amendment is clear. It proposes to make available for REA loans the exact amount that was agreed upon by the Subcommittee on Appropriations that heard all the evidence. And I might add that the committee was unanimous in reaching its decision. So that there will be no misunderstanding about the status of the situation, here are the facts. The subcommittee of which I am a member considered a Budget estimate of \$160,000,000. The REA had requested, so I understand, over \$200,000,000, but that request had been reduced by the Budget to \$160,000,000. Let me say that some of us, after hearing the evidence, felt that the REA would need the full \$160,000,000 and more, if it anything like took care of the applications now on file and the applications that are certain to come in during the remainder of 1945; yet, I was one of those who reluctantly agreed to reduce the sum to \$120,000,000 in order to reach a unanimous agreement. Then to our surprise in the full committee an amendment was offered by the distinguished gentleman from Georgia, who, incidentally, did not hear the evidence, to reduce the amount from \$120,000,000 to \$50,000,000 on the definite assurance that there was sufficient money on hand now to take care of the needs for loans of the Rural Electrification Administration. Now an investigation discloses that only \$40,000,000 is actually available for these much-needed loans. It will be recalled that \$80,000,000 was allowed by the regular Appropriations Committee early last spring while we were still at war with Germany, and at a time when very little materials were available. But of that \$80,000,000, \$40,000,000 is needed to take care of short extensions caused by the war. All of those extensions, so I am advised, have been completed or are in process of completion. So I repeat that actually only about \$40,000,000 is left and available to take care of \$239,000,000 of applications, with new applications coming in at the rate of a million dollars a day. Let me give you these figures that speak for themselves.

On May 1 last there were applications for only \$140,000,000. On June 1 the figure had grown to \$214,000,000. This figure is the figure given in Mr. Neal's testimony before our committee. As of yesterday, however, Rural Electrification Administration advises me that applications totaled \$239,000,000. So it is obvious that unless my amendment is adopted a lot of those applications are going to be turned down or drastically reduced.

I have before me here one of many letters from Rural Electrification cooperatives in Oklahoma. Here they tell me they have approved applications of 500 farm families. Some of those farmers have been waiting patiently since before

Pearl Harbor. These 500 farm families are as much entitled to electricity as any of those now receiving it, regardless of where they happen to live. Another co-op has had poles up on all or a part of their project since 1941 and they do not quite understand how the Congress quibbles over funds for loans to REA that will be paid back in full, and yet be lavish with other funds that no one pretends to say will be repaid. What I say of the plight of these farmers in the Sixth Congressional District of Oklahoma is also true of millions of others in other rural districts.

Bear in mind that there are 800 co-operatives in the country. They have been patient and long suffering. But these farm people who are feeding the world want electricity and they know they are entitled to it. Moreover, they are willing to pay for it. Within the next few weeks and months there will be an avalanche of applications from all or practically all of the 800 co-ops for hundreds of thousands of miles of extensions. If this unreasonable cut in funds should stand, a vast majority of those applications will be denied. But I am sure that when Members know the full facts they will vote to restore the amount agreed upon by the only committee that heard the evidence.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. I yield.

Mr. RANKIN. The gentleman calls attention to the fact that the Budget recommended \$160,000,000. The Rural Electrification Administration had asked for \$230,000,000.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. That as I recall is correct.

Mr. RANKIN. When the testimony was supplied to the subcommittee on appropriations I understand they agreed on \$120,000,000.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. That also is correct.

Mr. RANKIN. So that is the irresistible minimum that the cooperatives can get by with in the next year.

Mr. HORAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. I yield.

Mr. HORAN. Is it not true that when we had the agricultural supply bill before us we told them that if the REA could get the priorities they could come back and we would give them the money?

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. That was my understanding and I am quite certain it was the understanding of many others. It is also true that they are now getting many more priorities than last spring before Germany fell.

Mr. HORAN. And is not this true that this is a loan and not an expenditure?

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Yes, that is a fact that many Members seem to forget. It is a loan and not an expenditure. This is one of very few appropriations made wherein every dollar is repaid with interest. Not only is it a loan; it, in my judgment, is the best investment ever made. It will do more to keep farm boys and girls on the farm than any other investment that this Congress can make.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. I wonder if the gentleman will tell the House how long

these loans are for, over what period of time they extend?

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. I believe they may extend over a period not to exceed 35 years.

Mr. RANKIN. The limit is 35 years.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. And they carry 2 percent interest.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Yes; they carry 2 percent interest and the loans are being repaid.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Oklahoma has expired.

Mr. TARVER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Georgia is recognized.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this paragraph and all amendments thereto close in 30 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, why not just go ahead and accept the amendment and then let us go to doing something else?

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this paragraph and all amendments thereto close in 30 minutes. The committee will not use any time.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Chairman, I object.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I move that all debate on this paragraph and all amendments thereto close in 30 minutes.

Mr. TARVER. Mr. Chairman, I have not yielded the floor for the purpose of a motion.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will have 5 minutes.

Mr. TARVER. I understand that, but I have been recognized by the Chair and I make the point of order, because I do not yield.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Georgia does not yield for the purpose of offering a motion at this time.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Will not the gentleman cooperate with us?

Mr. TARVER. I will be glad to cooperate, but there are \$70,000,000 involved and somebody has the right to talk about it a little bit.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Georgia is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. TARVER. Mr. Chairman, I yield to no Member in this House in my support of the REA. I represent a district which is predominantly agricultural. I believe in the REA, I think it has accomplished and is accomplishing a very fine work, but that is very far from saying that I am in favor of making available any astronomical amount of money that anybody might suggest as being appropriate for its use.

Let me review briefly the situation. This House has already voted twice on this question this year. In the agricultural appropriation bill which was brought to the House by the subcommit-

tee of which I serve as chairman there was provision made for \$60,000,000 for loans by REA for the next fiscal year, and the House approved it. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN] sought to increase that to \$150,000,000. The House voted that down overwhelmingly. Then the gentleman sought to increase it to \$100,000,000, and that was voted down overwhelmingly. The Senate increased the amount to \$125,000,000, and \$80,000,000 was agreed upon in conference and you approved the conference report.

Now the proposal is to add \$120,000,000 to that amount, making available for the next fiscal year \$200,000,000 in addition to in excess of \$100,000,000 allocated during previous years but not expended; \$26,000,000 was available for the present fiscal year, \$25,000,000 plus the unexpended balance of \$1,000,000 approximately, and as of the time of the hearings on the agricultural appropriation bill only \$22,000,000 plus of that \$26,000,000 had been allocated. A little over \$2,000,000 of it had been actually expended. As of the time of those hearings \$111,000,000 of allocations made prior to this year had not been spent.

Mr. Neal testified before the Deficiency Committee a few days ago that since that time that amount of allocated funds unexpended had been reduced to approximately \$100,000,000. At any rate, they have \$100,000,000 allocated from previous years that have not been expended. They have \$80,000,000 in addition to that, provided in the Agricultural Appropriation Act for 1946. They have in this bill, if it is not amended, \$50,000,000 in addition to that, making a total of \$230,000,000 for use during the next fiscal year as against the \$26,000,000 which was available during the present fiscal year.

There is no reason in the world for assuming they are going to be able to expend any such huge amount of money. I believe in providing them every cent of money they need, but the mere fact they are hopeful that they will be able to get copper and aluminum and that they are going to be able to get materials to wire the houses and barns of farmers is no reason for increasing by almost 10 times the amount of funds to be given them in the next fiscal year what they have available by authorization made for the present fiscal year. To do that is simply to follow the lead of enthusiasts who would probably as readily support an allocation of \$500,000,000 as \$120,000,000. There ought to be some reasonableness about this thing.

Mr. Chairman, I do not think we are helping the cause of rural electrification any when we provide money largely in excess of its needs or of any reasonable claim which can be imagined. They say they can get materials. They cannot get materials in my district; at least, they are not building the extensions. They claim they can get the materials to wire the houses, but even if they get the materials to build extensions, the fact that the WPB has relaxed its regulations does not mean these farmers are going to get all the copper and aluminum they want.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TARVER. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. RANKIN. The gentleman said that these figures are astronomical. That is exactly the position the gentleman took in 1938 when I asked for the first \$100,000,000.

Mr. TARVER. Oh, the gentleman is absolutely mistaken.

Mr. RANKIN. We can use every dollar of this \$120,000,000 in this country now.

Mr. TARVER. Mr. Chairman, I do not yield further. The gentleman's statement is absolutely incorrect. Not only that, but the gentleman's efforts in the past for getting funds for REA have been responsible for the procurement of this \$111,000,000 that they could not spend. This amendment ought not to be agreed to. The provision of funds in excess of any necessity, which can reasonably be anticipated, has never helped REA in the past and will not now.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I move that all debate on this paragraph and all amendments thereto close in 30 minutes.

The motion was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. BULWINKLE].

Mr. BULWINKLE. Mr. Chairman, I will take but 1 minute. Mr. Chairman, I thought that probably the Members might want to know what the President's announcement was, and this is what was handed me by the Associated Press. It says:

Truman announced today he had accepted the resignation of Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., as Secretary of State, and was appointing him as American representative on the Postwar Security Council and chairman of the United States Delegation in its General Assembly.

The President announced he would appoint a successor to Stettinius as State Secretary next Monday or Tuesday but laughed off attempts of reporters to make him say it would be James F. Byrnes, of South Carolina.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California [Mr. HINSHAW].

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Chairman, the bill proposed by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] has been assigned to a subcommittee of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of which the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. HARRIS] is chairman, and on which I have the honor to serve. This bill will provide for a 3-year authorization of \$200,000,000 a year for expenditures by the REA. The money is to come from the RFC. Hearings are proceeding on this bill.

I do not intend to discuss the pending amendment, but I want to call the attention of the Committee to one very important fact, and that is, that these loans from the RFC are expected to be not greater than 85 percent of the amount of the collateral consisting of loans that are made by REA.

We have appropriated these funds for the REA from two sources, one by direct appropriation from the Treasury and the other through loan authorizations by the RFC. The direct appropriations from the Treasury Department amount to something like \$146,000,000, which would make an authorization to the RFC to loan something like nine

hundred and fifty or nine hundred and seventy-five million dollars for these purposes in accordance with section 3 (a) of the act referred to as authorization in this measure.

There is a very peculiar thing involved here. That is that this money, whether it comes directly from the Treasury or through the RFC, all comes from the Treasury. That money which comes from the RFC is loaned to the Administrator at 1 3/4 percent and is in turn loaned to these cooperatives at 2 percent, whereas the RFC itself borrows that money from the Treasury at the rate of 1 percent. Therefore, there is a clear three-quarters of 1 percent profit to the RFC in making these loans. For one thing, it makes the RFC look very good in its annual statement and the gentlemen on the Committee on Banking and Currency who have had that organization under their legislative supervision should make an investigation of it.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MAHON].

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Chairman, the noise and confusion in the Chamber, I believe, is somewhat comparable to the confusion that exists in the House as to the REA situation. The Bureau of the Budget sent to the Congress a request for a \$160,000,000 authorization for the REA. The Deficiency Appropriations Subcommittee, made up of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CANNON] and the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER], and others, scaled that down to a \$120,000,000 authorization. In that form the proposal was submitted to the whole committee.

The gentleman from Georgia has objected to this sum of money for the REA, and unfortunately the whole committee reduced the amount from \$120,000,000 to \$50,000,000. I was among those opposing the reduction.

Mr. Chairman, the REA program is paying its own way and paying it in a big way. It is one of those vital programs which must help forge this link between the end of the war and our entry into the postwar period. The REA should be able to make loans to enable this program to go forward rapidly as we end the war and as we begin the postwar period.

Yes; we need the \$120,000,000 authorization. Two hundred and thirty-nine million dollars' worth of applications are now pending today. Additional REA applications are coming in at the rate of 1,000,000 per day. Therefore, the \$50,000,000 authorization, if applied to the new applications, would last at that rate for only 50 days. Of course, that would not be the actual procedure that would be followed. Let me urge the friends of REA, and I believe the great majority of the Members of this House are friends of REA, let me urge you to go down the line with the Deficiency Appropriations Subcommittee as they presented the bill to the whole committee. In other words, let us support the bill with the Johnson amendment, and provide this authorization of \$120,000,000, which, at that, is \$40,000,000 below the Budget estimate. The money is needed.

The money will not come out of the taxpayer's pocket. The money will stimulate industry. It will help the food program. It will help the farmer. The money will help everyone and hurt no one.

I sincerely trust that the Johnson amendment will receive your support and that the additional \$120,000,000 for Rural Electrification Administration will be provided.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. HOPE].

Mr. HOPE. Mr. Chairman, I hope that the amendment will be adopted. For the last 3 or 4 years, as everyone knows, the REA program has been practically suspended except in a very limited class of cases. There has been no material available and for that reason the money authorized for loans has been very small. As a result a big backlog of projects has accumulated.

During the last 2 months the War Production Board has issued two orders which have relaxed the restrictions upon materials for rural electrification, and in all probability there will be further increases in available material. This will make it possible to go ahead with a large number of projects which have been held up by a lack of material.

As has already been said here, there are now pending applications for loans amounting to over \$200,000,000. More applications are coming in every day. In addition you will recall that last year the Congress passed a bill which reduced the interest rate and extended the time for repayment of REA loans. That legislation has made it possible for the Rural Electrification Administration to extend its lines into many areas where that service could not have been made available under the old law. This has further increased loan applications. More material is becoming available. I think much more will be available, but if we authorize the money and the material is not available, no harm will be done. We are merely authorizing the RFC to make the loans. If they cannot be made this year, they will be made next year. In no event can any possible harm be done by approving this amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN] is recognized.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, I agree with what the distinguished gentleman from Kansas [Mr. HOPE] has said. If you will turn to page A3068 in the Appendix of the Record, you will find a letter from Hon. Claude R. Wickard, Secretary of Agriculture, who is to be the new REA Administrator, setting out the facts with reference to the need for the appropriation of an additional \$120,000,000 for the next fiscal year, which this amendment would provide. This money is badly needed, and the farmers are pleading for it all over the country.

The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. TARVER] talks about what a great friend he is of rural electrification. I happen to know his record; I checked it up this morning. He not only offered the amendment to cut this \$120,000,000 down to \$50,000,000, but he tried to cut it out altogether.

Mr. TARVER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RANKIN. Yes; I yield.

Mr. TARVER. The statement of the gentleman is absolutely correct as to what happened in the Appropriations Committee.

Mr. RANKIN. The gentleman has verified what I have said. I do not yield any further.

Mr. TARVER. But somebody violated the rules by telling what happened in the committee.

Mr. RANKIN. But you admit they gave us the facts. I am talking for the farmers of America. The gentleman from Georgia has opposed our rural electrification program for years.

Mr. TARVER. That is not true. That is absolutely false.

Mr. RANKIN. I will show you it is true by the Record.

Mr. TARVER. I say it is absolutely false.

Mr. RANKIN. In 1938 when we were trying to get the first \$100,000,000 appropriation for rural electrification the gentleman voted against it.

Mr. TARVER. That is not true.

Mr. RANKIN. Oh, yes; it is; I will cite the Record. In 1938 when we were trying to get the first \$100,000,000 appropriation he voted against it.

Mr. TARVER. That statement is not true. I have only voted against excessive amounts.

Mr. RANKIN. The Record shows he voted against it. Turn to page 6833 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Thursday, May 12, 1938, roll call No. 74. On the amendment providing \$100,000,000 for rural electrification for the next fiscal year and you will see that one of the Members who voted "nay" on that roll call was the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. TARVER].

It was my amendment, as you will see from reading the Record of that day, that raised the amount to \$100,000,000. The adoption of that amendment really started rural electrification on its way. And I might add that this amendment we are on now is the most important provision, or amendment, so far as rural electrification is concerned, that has been proposed from that day to this; and I do not propose for the gentleman from Georgia to defeat it, or emasculate it, if I can prevent it.

Last year when we tried to raise the amount provided for rural electrification from \$20,000,000 to \$30,000,000 he fought that. Yet he comes here and says he is as good a friend of rural electrification as I am. I will take the Record on roll calls.

Mr. TARVER. The gentlemen's statement as made is not correct.

Mr. RANKIN. The gentleman can rant all he wants to. But the Record of June 23, 1943, shows on page 6361, roll call No. 113, that the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. TARVER] voted against concurring in the Senate amendment which would have increased the amount provided for rural electrification from \$20,000,000 to \$30,000,000. And the same Record shows that he led the fight against it.

What we are trying to do is to offset the opposition of the gentleman from

Georgia who seems to be trying to kill the appropriation for rural electrification in this bill.

Mr. TARVER. That is not true.

Mr. RANKIN. All right. You just admitted it.

Mr. TARVER. I have not.

Mr. RANKIN. You just admitted you voted in committee to strike out the entire appropriation.

Mr. TARVER. Oh, no, no.

Mr. RANKIN. You voted to strike out even the \$50,000,000.

Mr. TARVER. Because it is not needed.

Mr. RANKIN. I am afraid that if we waited until the gentleman from Georgia thought funds were "needed" for rural electrification before we provided them, our rural-electrification program would be at an end. He does not think we need even \$50,000,000 now while the Administration thinks we need \$160,000,000. The subcommittee thinks we need \$120,000,000, and that is what we are asking for in this amendment.

I have neither the time nor the desire to quarrel with the gentleman from Georgia; but I am not going to let him kill this amendment if I can help it.

The war in Europe is over, and we can get the materials for building these lines. We are ready to go forward with this program, and I, for one, am not willing for the gentleman from Georgia to stand here and say that he is as good a friend of rural electrification as I am, and at the same time reduce this amount below the danger point or strike this needed and necessary item from the bill.

After all the fighting I have gone through here with Senator Norris and other friends of the REA, to build up this rural-electrification program from the beginning, I cannot sit idly by and see it destroyed or paralyzed by cutting off the necessary funds.

Mr. TARVER. You have been tied to the tail of the kite of George Norris.

Mr. RANKIN. Senator Norris and I fought for this program during the hard, trying years when he was in the Senate. I am doing now just what Senator Norris would do if he were alive and here today to help me. In his autobiography, Senator Norris gives me credit for saving the REA in 1935.

The power question is one issue on which Senator Norris and I always agreed. He led the fight in the Senate, and I led it here in the House; and as a result of our efforts we have a public power program the like of which our people had scarcely dreamed 12 years ago. By our joint efforts we succeeded in passing the bill creating the TVA, which has proved to be the greatest single development of all time. It has provided the American people with a yardstick, showing what electricity should cost them, and in that way has brought about reductions in light and power rates amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars annually.

If it had not been for the fights we waged, there would have been a rising tide of power rates all over the country, and the average family would have been denied the use of many of those electrical appliances they now enjoy.

If it had not been for the fights I waged, and won, here on this floor in 1938, there would be more than a million farm homes throughout this country dark tonight, that are now enjoying the benefits of rural electrification—the greatest economic blessing that has ever come to the farmers of America, and which we are now trying to extend to reach every farm home in the United States. Without Senator Norris' help, I feel sure we would have lost that amendment in the Senate, even after we had won it in the House.

The gentleman from Georgia may call me the tail of the kite if he wants to; but my answer is that it was a glorious kite—one that lifted the farmers of this Nation into a brighter existence and a higher standard of living than they had ever enjoyed before in all the history of mankind.

Senator Norris is gone; God bless his sacred memory! The work he did for this power program and for rural electrification will live forever, and his name will remain enshrined in the hearts of a grateful people for centuries to come.

In his name, and in the names of the millions of farm men and women who are pleading for electricity in their homes, I appeal to you to vote for this amendment and help us to carry this great program forward until we electrify every farm home in America at rates the farmers can afford to pay.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HOEVEN] is recognized.

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Chairman, Iowa farmers want electricity. Iowa has already applied for some \$8,000,000 authorization beginning the 1st of July. In fact, in my own congressional district of 12 counties we have applications pending for over \$1,000,000. In the proposed allocation in this bill, \$50,000,000, it would allow a little better than \$1,000,000 for each of the 48 States. In my own congressional district there are requests for over a million dollars. It seems to me the issue is not one of grants. We have heard so much about grants in Congress, the UNRRA and lend-lease, which is a misnomer, but here we are only asking for a loan. In my judgment, the Iowa farmer is a pretty good risk. We are for electricity. We want to extend this program.

As has been said, the war is over in Europe. These applications are piling in every day. When the material becomes available we want to extend our lines. In my county alone they are getting ready to build 85 miles of high line right now. So it seems to me this is a practical proposition. It is a question of a loan. If the money is not expended nobody will be at a loss. The money will be in the Treasury.

This is a progressive movement. The Iowa farmer, together with all farmers throughout the midwest, have done a great job in helping to win the war by the production of food. The people on the farms are just as much entitled to these electrical facilities as the people in the cities. One great problem we will have is to keep young men on the farms when the war is over. You have got to make agri-

culture attractive and you have got to do something to bring that young man back from the Army that will make him want to stay on the farm.

Mr. JENSEN. And the Iowa farmers will pay back every dollar with interest.

Mr. HOEVEN. The gentleman is correct. The record of the Iowa farmer is very fine in that respect, paying what he owes.

Mr. RANKIN. And according to the statement of the gentleman from California [Mr. HINSHAW] the Government will make a profit on that interest.

Mr. HOEVEN. There is no doubt about that. This is a good investment that will make for the betterment of the entire country.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Iowa has expired.

The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. PACE] is recognized.

Mr. PACE. Mr. Chairman, not one penny of this money is a gift, but every dollar is a loan, and the REA co-ops, farmer owned and farmer controlled, have proven to be safe borrowers. Listen to this: During the 10 years \$40,930,000 interest has become due, on which \$40,600,000 has been paid. During the same period \$27,300,000 of principal has accrued while \$45,300,000 has been paid on principal. Not only have these loans been safe investments for the Government, but they have made it possible for the farmer, his wife, and children to enjoy the comforts and blessings of modern conveniences and the efficiency of electric power. Those are things you cannot measure in dollars and cents, but have been of great benefit to the Nation. Here is what I wanted to say to you:

Do not let word go out this afternoon to the farmers of this Nation that you are appropriating in this bill \$1,900,000,000 to give away under lend-lease, and that you refused to make your own people a safe loan of less than 7 percent of that amount. Do not let word go out to the farmers of this Nation that you are appropriating seven or eight billions for the Export-Import Bank to lend to foreign people and you cannot let your own farmers have a loan of \$120,000,000. Do not let the word go out to this country that you have this week spent \$700,000,000 to increase the pay of Government employees, for which you and I voted, and that you cannot lend the farmers of this Nation \$120,000,000 to build their own electric lines to their homes.

Mr. RABAUT. And on good security.

Mr. PACE. I say to you that in my judgment the most helpful thing this Congress has ever done for the farmers of this Nation is to give them the blessings of rural electrification and the benefits of soil conservation and soil building. We now have the system partly completed and I appeal to all of you to join with those of us who realize the benefits of this program to make it possible to see that there is an REA line to every farmhouse in this Nation within 5 years. That is what we are working for, and this amendment to authorize these additional loans of \$120,000,000 is a part of that program. I call upon you to stand with us.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Georgia has expired.

The gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. STEFAN] is recognized.

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Chairman, I rise to say a good word for the REA. Not only its work all over the Nation but especially the work it has done in Nebraska. My feeling after some exhaustive study in that Mr. Neal and his associates have done a splendid job with the funds which this Congress has provided them for the Rural Electrification Administration. Many of the districts in my State are rated as the outstanding REA district in the country. We have many applications in Nebraska for REA extensions but we have been unable to complete them because the Administration has not had sufficient funds on hand for loaning purposes and also because war necessarily prohibited the release of critical material. The war is over in Europe now and I have been informed that REA material is no longer frozen. The Administration has on hand now applications for \$239,000,000 REA extensions and new work. There is no reason why sufficient funds should not be allowed for this purpose now. This money does not represent grants. It costs the taxpayers no money. In fact it represents a loan on which these borrowers pay an interest. The record shows that the principal and interest on most REA loans have been paid. In many cases the loans have been paid far ahead of the due date. This is a remarkable record and the program should be encouraged. It means a great contribution to the plan to solve our postwar economic problem. It will bring prosperity to our farming districts. It has already brought much comfort and happiness to the American farm home. In Nebraska we have an excess of electric power. We want these rural electric lines extended as soon as possible so we can put this electric power to work. I shall oppose amendments which would reduce the funds necessary to complete the REA program in our country. Not one penny will be lost in making these loans to our REA districts. In fact, it is my belief that a profit will be shown.

Only a short time ago I interrogated the ranking minority member of the Appropriations Committee on lend-lease. You will recall that I brought out the fact that we have already appropriated \$65,000,000,000 for lend-lease. Also that over \$40,000,000,000 has already been delivered in lend-lease to foreigners. You will also recall statements made on this floor today that very little of this lend-lease money will ever come back to us. Then why quibble over this REA loan which the farmers of America need so badly now and which they will pay back with interest? I oppose the amendment offered by the gentleman from Georgia to reduce these REA loans and urge the committee to accept the amendment of the gentleman from Oklahoma which would give to the REA at least a portion of the funds necessary to construct these badly needed rural-electrification lines.

Mr. MURDOCK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEFAN. I yield.

Mr. MURDOCK. I agree with the sentiments just expressed. Does the gentleman feel, then, that Nebraska has profited greatly by the extension of REA projects and lines?

Mr. STEFAN. There is no question about it. The REA program in our State has been of very great benefit. We now have excess power and are trying to find an outlet for it in Nebraska even paying dividends to bring industry to the agricultural country. It is going to mean that we are going to process more of our products out there rather than shipping them to the East or the West to be processed.

Mr. MURDOCK. In that respect it does create wealth.

Mr. STEFAN. Absolutely.

Mr. MURDOCK. We want REA to do the same thing in my State of Arizona as the gentleman says it has done in Nebraska. It not only energizes the power lines to America's farms, but it helps to energize the productive processes of our whole economic life. I also favor this type of investment.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. MILLER].

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Chairman, there are gray heads in this House and some without hair, who can remember when grandmother used to have a candle in order to secure light. Some of you may have helped grandmother make candles. Certainly we can all remember the lamp shade that mother used to clean every night about sundown so that we would have a little light for dinnertime. It has not been very many years ago when we used to build fires on the hilltop to signal to our neighbors across the way. But today electricity and communications have changed that picture. There is only one thing wrong with this appropriation bill and that is, there is not enough in it for rural electrification.

I make that statement because in my own State we have hundreds of applications for extension of rural electrification. It brings contentment, it brings security, it brings a new life, it brings a pleasure to living on the farm. If this House can vote billions of dollars for Bretton Woods, lend-lease, and other agencies of Government from which we may never get a penny back, we should not forget our farmers who are asking for a loan here that will be repaid to the Government with interest.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Nebraska has expired.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE].

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, in the past few months there has been much unwarranted criticism of those who have been charged with the administration of the REA. Those criticisms have all been vague, they have been the whispering type of criticism without any specific charges being made, they have been unfair, they have been cowardly, they have been the backhanded kind of criticism. When boiled down this criticism simply amounts to a charge that those in charge of REA have not done as much

as we would like to have seen done. And, of course, that is true. They have not done as much as I would like to have had done. They have not energized the poles in front of my own farm. No, they have not built the lines through my district I would like to have seen built. But whose fault is it that lines have not been built? Much of this lack of construction has been the result of shortages due to the war. The rest of the responsibility must rest on the Congress.

With the means at its command the administration of REA has been good. Bill Neal has done a good job with everything he has had and there is not a man or woman in this Chamber or in the other Chamber who has dared rise and point to a specific instance where he has done any wrong. There has been nothing but back-alley scandal, nothing but unworthy insinuations. After all, if REA has not had enough money to carry on as we would like for them to carry on, whose fault is it? As material began to become available REA came to us and asked for the deficiency appropriations we had promised. We did not make them in sufficient amount to enable the program to move forward even during the period of restricted construction. Now practically all restrictions have been removed. Transmission wire is plentiful. The farmers' cooperatives are sending in applications at the rate of \$1,000,000 per day. We have provided only \$80,000,000 for next year and yet we enter the year with a backlog of nearly \$240,000,000 of applications for loans by local cooperatives.

This amendment does not attempt to provide all the money needed. It does not try to provide enough to enable REA to finance all the applications it now has—much less all those it will receive. It only attempts to provide for the more pressing needs within the ability of the cooperatives to buy the needed equipment. This amendment simply makes good in part on the promise made that we would provide more money as building material became available.

Unless we are willing to give the Administrator of REA reasonable funds with which to do the job, I hope that we will hear no more complaint that REA is not doing the job. And, remember that when you give him the money provided in this amendment you only give him about one-half the amount for which he has asked.

If you really want the job done as your road program is handled you should pass the bill to which the gentleman from California [Mr. HINSHAW] referred and put the REA on the same kind of long-term planning basis that you have put the Bureau of Public Roads. That bill, H. R. 1742, was introduced in January. It is still being considered by the committee as explained by the gentleman from California. It seems improbable that the committee can get the measure to the House before late fall. Under these circumstances we simply cannot wait for that legislation for this year's program. The best we can do is to use it next year. I think that we should have enacted that bill into law months ago, but we did not. In the absence of

an all-over, long-term program for REA it is necessary that we give it the funds provided in the amendment if we want to deal fairly with the new Administrator of REA, and if we want to keep faith with the farmers of America who only ask the privilege of borrowing money on a basis that pays the Government a nice profit.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Texas has expired.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN].

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. Chairman, let me say to the gentleman from Texas that not all criticism of REA has been vague. At least mine has been so specific that I got an assistant administrator removed. But that does not gainsay the fact that I am for the amendment that is on the desk. I hope this does not become a contest between the 100 percenters for REA, the 90 percenters and the 50 percenters. I have been one of the most severe critics and every administrative official in REA will bear that out. In every case my criticism was designed to improve its operation. I think that in all the welter of discussion we lose sight of the essential point. It does not make any difference how many applications they have.

The question that we tried to resolve in the subcommittee is, What is the availability of material? What difference does it make whether they have a billion dollars in applications, if there is no copper, if there is no steel, if there is no aluminum? That was the one consideration that dictated the reduction of this item in the subcommittee from \$160,000,000, which was the Budget estimate, to \$120,000,000.

I voted for the \$120,000,000, as I think most of the members of the subcommittee did, and that is why I am for the amendment that is on the desk at the present time.

I did want to say before leaving the floor, however, in justice to and in defense of my chairman the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. TARVER]—if he needs any defense, and I do not believe he does—that the observations which he made on this floor are exactly right. The testimony before the Subcommittee on Agricultural Appropriations was that REA spent only a very small sum of money, and that information was in the possession of the Bureau of the Budget at the time; so the judge is right. But I do not agree with him on \$50,000,000, because if perchance the material should now become available as priorities are released, then certainly let us go ahead with this program. This is, after all, loan money, and I thoroughly agree that we should do something for the farmers of this Nation to see that they get all the benefits of electricity.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. RANKIN. That report of the Agricultural Subcommittee on Appropriations was rendered before Germany was knocked out of the war, was it not?

Mr. DIRKSEN. Yes; but the point is that the information was available to the Bureau of the Budget at the time when the \$160,000,000 estimate was prepared

and sent to the Subcommittee on Deficiencies.

Mr. RANKIN. And they gave that estimate on the theory that there would be materials available now.

Mr. DIRKSEN. That is right. I raised that question very specifically, so if the materials are available, I wanted to take a chance on the extension of this program, and for that reason I shall vote for Mr. JOHNSON's amendment for \$120,000,000. If the material is not available, they cannot spend the money and there will be an unobligated authorization for next year.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. JOHNSON].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. TARVER) there were—yeas 102, nays 29.

So the amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

Establishment of air-navigation facilities: For an additional amount for "Establishment of air-navigation facilities," fiscal year 1946, including the objects specified under this head in the Department of Commerce Appropriation Act, 1946, \$27,000.

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. HINSHAW: Page 27, line 7, strike out "\$27,000" and insert "\$317,000."

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this paragraph and all amendments thereto close in 10 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Chairman, this item came before the House in the form of an amendment when the regular Commerce Department appropriation bill was before the House some time ago. The committee handling that matter, which is headed by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. RABAUT] made some inquiry concerning this item and then did not include it because it was not then included in the Budget. I had discussed the matter subsequent to that time with the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. RABAUT] and he indicated when the Budget brought in the item he would not disapprove it. Now the Budget has brought in the item but the Deficiency Committee has disapproved it.

This is for the purpose of establishing special mechanical means of handling airway traffic control over a short segment of the airways of the United States, namely, between Washington and New York. It is a very important item to the future of aviation. It is a very important item from the standpoint of testing a new device.

I have discussed this matter before on the floor of the House. I hope the committee will agree to the item because of its great importance to the future of aviation. It is also important from the standpoint of safety. These heavily traveled air routes are going to have to have some better means of traffic control than that which is presently in effect. I know that the committee gave it con-

sideration. I hope that they will give it favorable consideration because of its vital necessity.

I would be glad to answer any question concerning this amendment so far as I am able to within the time allotted to me.

Mr. HORAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HINSHAW. I yield to the gentleman from Washington.

Mr. HORAN. Will this experimental line solve some of our control tower problems all over the Nation?

Mr. HINSHAW. It will very materially aid in solving the control tower problems in due course, yes; but at the present moment it will be only between Washington and New York. I hope that the gentlemen of the committee will accept the amendment and allow this item to go through because I know it is greatly desired by all concerned in military and naval aviation and in the Department of Commerce, as well as in the Bureau of the Budget who now thoroughly understand the matter.

I hope the gentleman from Missouri will accept the amendment and allow this item to go through in order that it may be firmly established in the system. If we do not put it through now it will have to wait another year. If we wait any longer it will take more than that because it takes a year to install this equipment and another year to test it. It is a postwar project which needs to be started now and is of vital importance to aviation.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CANNON].

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, according to the testimony submitted by the departmental representatives appearing before the committee, this amendment is the proverbial camel's nose beneath the tent. In attempting to justify this expenditure, they have been frank to say their ultimate program provides for the establishment of this system between New York and Washington for the year and then next year, if it proves successful, as it of course will, they then propose to extend it to all trunk routes throughout the United States.

The cost of such installation would be fabulous.

To install facilities for this one line between Washington and New York will cost in excess of three quarters of a million dollars. You can imagine what the total cost will be when installed on all major lines throughout the country. I may also say that the facilities proposed to be provided by this amendment have no relation to the war program whatever.

I trust, Mr. Chairman, that the amendment will be rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from California [Mr. HINSHAW].

The amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read, as follows:

General expenses, Marine Corps, 1946, \$48,680,000.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, at the request of the gentleman

from Georgia [Mr. VINSON], chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, I offer an amendment, which is at the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. CANNON of Missouri: Page 32, after line 24, insert a new paragraph, as follows:

"GENERAL PROVISION"

"The appropriations of the Naval Establishment for the fiscal year 1946 shall be available for traveling expenses (including subsistence while awaiting transportation at west coast ports) in connection with the recruitment and placement of civilian personnel for naval facilities at Pearl Harbor and in the States of Washington, Oregon, California, Nevada, Utah, Nebraska, and Oklahoma."

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, this amendment is offered at the request of the gentleman from Georgia, Mr. VINSON, chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, who had expected to submit the amendment but was called away before the paragraph could be reached in the reading of the bill.

The need for this provision is indicated in the following letter received from the Assistant Secretary of the Navy:

THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY,
Washington, May 29, 1945.

HON. CLARENCE CANNON,
Chairman, Committee on Appropriations,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CHAIRMAN CANNON: Section 113 of the Naval Appropriation Act for the fiscal year 1945 contained authority to recruit and transport civilian employees in order to keep up the production and repair programs of the Navy. The estimates for the fiscal year 1946, as transmitted to Congress by the President, contained a similar provision, which was omitted by the House in reporting out the 1946 bill. As a result of this action, the Department has been placed in a critical situation, as the labor turn-over in west coast plants has been very large; and although considerable numbers of men are leaving other industrial activities in that area, they are not applying at the naval plants in sufficient numbers to carry on the work. It is a matter of vital importance to the war effort that the west coast repair yards and certain ammunition depots and ordnance plants in isolated places, such as Hawthorne, Nev., Hastings, Nebr., Inyokern, Calif., McAlester, Okla., and the supply depot at Clearfield, Utah, be kept up to strength. As a matter of fact, even now with the authority to do such recruitment, the Department is having difficulty in keeping these plants going at the level required. I don't know of any matter which is more urgent than this.

As indicated above, the Bureau of the Budget had already approved this provision for the fiscal year 1946, and have indicated they approve of the request herein made.

In order to meet the wishes of the Congress, that no unnecessary recruitment take place, language has been prepared which restricts such recruitment to be for those places where critical conditions exist.

It is requested, therefore, that the following language be included in the second deficiency bill, now under consideration by your committee:

"GENERAL PROVISION"

"The appropriations of the Naval Establishment for the fiscal year 1946 shall be available for traveling expenses (including subsistence while awaiting transportation at west coast ports) in connection with the recruitment and placement of civilian personnel for naval facilities at Pearl Harbor and

in the States of Washington, Oregon, California, Nevada, Utah, Nebraska, and Oklahoma."

Sincerely yours,

H. STRUVE HENSEL.

The amendment is legislative in character and for that reason the committee declined to include it in the bill but has no objection to its adoption if approved by the chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs which has legislative jurisdiction of the subject matter.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CANNON].

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

TITLE II—DEFENSE AID—LEND-LEASE

SEC. 201. To enable the President, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1946, through such departments or agencies of the Government as he may designate, further to carry out the provisions of an act to promote the defense of the United States, approved March 11, 1941, as amended, and for each and every purpose incident to or necessary therefor, the following sums for the following respective purposes:

(a) For the procurement, by manufacture or otherwise, of defense articles, information, and services, for the government of any country whose defense the President deems vital to the defense of the United States, and the disposition thereof, including all necessary expenses in connection therewith, as follows:

Vessels, ships, boats, and other watercraft, including the hire and temporary use thereof, and equipment, supplies, materials, spare parts, and accessories, \$666,912,000.

Agricultural, industrial, and other commodities and articles, \$1,305,228,000.

(b) For administrative expenses, not specified or included in the appropriation for "Salaries and expenses, Foreign Economic Administration, 1946", \$2,860,000.

(c) In all, \$1,975,000,000.

(d) Each of the foregoing appropriations shall be additional to, and consolidated with, the appropriations for the same purposes, contained in the same respective categories of appropriation in the Defense Aid Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1941, the Defense Aid Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1942, the Second Defense Aid Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1942, the Defense Aid Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1943, and the Defense Aid Appropriation Act, 1945, and the appropriations contained in the foregoing acts are hereby continued and shall be available until June 30, 1946, except that \$500,000,000 of the total amount thus made available shall be continued to be reserved for expenditure, as and when necessary, for the postwar price support of agriculture: *Provided*, That with the exception of the appropriation for "Administrative expenses," not to exceed 20 percent of any of the foregoing appropriations may be transferred by the President to any other of such appropriations, but no such appropriation shall be increased more than 30 percent thereby: *Provided further*, That notwithstanding the foregoing proviso (1) balances, unobligated as of June 30, 1945, and balances subsequently released from obligation, of appropriations contained in the foregoing acts for "Ordnance and ordnance stores, supplies, spare parts, and materials, including armor and ammunition and components thereof," and for "Miscellaneous military equipment, supplies, and materials," may be transferred by the President to and consolidated with the appropriation provided above for "Agricultural, industrial, and other commodities and articles"; and (2) balances, unobligated as of June 30, 1945, and balances subsequently released from obligation, of appropriations contained in the foregoing acts

for "Necessary services and expenses" may be transferred by the President to and consolidated with any of the appropriations provided above, except the appropriation for "Administrative expenses."

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, by direction of the committee I offer an amendment, which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. CANNON of Missouri: On page 40, line 13, strike out "\$1,305,228,000" and insert "\$1,805,228,000"; and on page 40, line 17, strike out "\$1,975,000,000" and insert "\$2,475,000,000."

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, this amendment proposes an increase in the lend-lease funds carried in the bill by \$500,000,000 in excess of the Budget estimate. The additional half billion dollars is to replace the half billion dollars earmarked by the committee for allocation to the Department of Agriculture for the postwar price support of agricultural commodities. The Steagall act authorizes the support of agricultural prices at 90 percent of parity for 2 years following the close of the war. Under this authorization, a reserve of \$500,000,000 has been carried in lend-lease funds since 1941. It has never been necessary to use any of this money as farm prices have remained consistently above 90 percent of parity since the enactment of the authorization. But the reserve of half billion dollars has been maintained subject to the order of the Secretary of Agriculture for the purchase, under his direction, of sufficient commodities to sustain the price of farm products at the minimum ratio specified in the statute—90 percent of parity.

This year, however, after the estimates had been submitted the Bureau of the Budget, in a confidential letter addressed to the Foreign Economic Administration, directed that the reserve of \$500,000,000, instead of being kept on the shelf, as in former years, should be made available for general use in the lend-lease program. The result of such dissipation of the fund in the general program would have left the Secretary of Agriculture without means to maintain farm prices had market quotations dropped below the floor of 90 percent of parity. In other words, the covenant which the Government had entered into with the farmers of the country, under the Steagall act, to maintain prices in return for expanded production for war purposes, would have been repudiated without notice.

Accordingly, the committee restored the reserve by earmarking half billion dollars of lend-lease funds for the purpose, thereby reducing by that amount the total amount available for the lend-lease program. The pending amendment restores the \$500,000,000 thus sequestered and raises the amount available for lend-lease to the \$1,975,000,000 originally recommended by the Bureau of the Budget for the purpose.

In this way the committee proposes to continue the reserve of half billion dollars necessary to support postwar farm prices and at the same time provide the full amount of the Budget estimate for the lend-lease program.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I cannot bring myself to vote for this amendment. The justifications for the lend-lease operations are in such shape I cannot do it. They do not show what it is proposed will be sent over next year, and the unexpended balances are up in the air in such shape that I do not believe I can support the amendment. With the deliveries they will have coming out of prior obligations they will have at least \$6,500,000,000. In my opinion, that gives them all they can ship, and I do not see why they need this additional \$500,000,000. There is no Budget estimate for it.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, in order that the members of the committee may understand the situation clearly, let me call to your attention the fact that the lend-lease budget was set up for the minimum amount possible; I think it was a little over \$4,000,000,000, about \$4,300,000,000 or thereabouts. In past bills the committee always reported out \$500,000,000 for postwar prices for farmers to meet the support prices, but they have always added that \$500,000,000 to the amount reported out for lend-lease so that if the conditions arose where the support price program started into operation the \$500,000,000 would be available to carry out our legislative commitments to the farmers of the country. I approve of that and I think it is a very wise thing to do; but they always added the \$500,000,000 in past bills to lend-lease appropriations. In the bill reported out they failed to do that. They provided for the \$500,000,000 as a fund to meet our postwar obligations to the farmers but they took it from the lend-lease appropriations. All the committee amendment does is to safeguard the farmers' interest but not at the expense of lend-lease appropriations and to provide just the same as we have in the bills of past years. It would add it on to lend-lease rather than take it from it. I know my good friend the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] is opposing this more on principle than in fact.

Mr. TABER. If the gentleman will yield, it is because I think they have plenty of money without it.

Mr. McCORMACK. The fact remains, I believe my friend from New York will agree, that without this amendment there would be a reduction of \$500,000,000 taken out of lend-lease this year to carry out obligations to the farmers, whereas in past years it was added to the bill. I do not think we want to have this bill enacted with the present provision as reported by the committee, which includes this amount at the expense of lend-lease. We are all in favor of the \$500,000,000 as a reserve for farmer support prices, but it should be added to the lend-lease appropriation. The adoption of the pending amendment will accomplish that fact and do what the Congress has done in bygone days; that is, add the \$500,000,000 to the lend-lease appropriation and have it there to protect the farmers of

the country in case the situation arises where our support program has to go into operation.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this paragraph and all amendments thereto close in 5 minutes, to be allotted to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN].

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN].

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the pending amendment. I can endorse everything that the majority leader has said. Then I believe it would be interesting to amplify exactly how this situation is provoked.

When the Foreign Economic Administration appeared before the subcommittee their top figure for operations during 1946 was \$4,375,000,000. In order to determine what their direct appropriation should be, you first ascertain, if you can, the unobligated balances, deduct that amount, then make a direct appropriation accordingly, which, of course, would give them the necessary amount. That was done.

After the bill had been completed, it was discovered that \$500,000,000 which heretofore had been in this fund and which was earmarked for shoring prices in the postwar period for agricultural commodities, had suddenly at the instance of the Budget Bureau been made available in this balance and, as a result, this money would not have been available for the purposes Congress had in mind when it passed the Steagall bill several years ago. So the subcommittee thereupon simply took out this \$500,000,000. I objected at the time. I thought it was entirely unfair, for the very good reason that it would leave the Foreign Economic Administration short \$500,000,000 with which to carry on its work. The subcommittee at another meeting this morning, and on the basis of the testimony of Mr. Crowley and some members of his staff, determined that the \$500,000,000 should be restored.

In consequence the amendment has been offered by the gentleman from Missouri and I hope it will be adopted, because it serves two purposes. The first purpose is to keep on the shelf the \$500,000,000 that has been earmarked to stabilize farm prices and put a floor under them in case the impact on our postwar economy is such that it will force the prices down; and, secondly, it will give the Lend-Lease Administration the money it will need during the fiscal year 1946.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I yield to the gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. HARRIS. Do I understand the gentleman to say that heretofore \$500,000,000 has been appropriated for this purpose for the postwar and since it was

not used it reverts to the Treasury unless it is reappropriated?

Mr. DIRKSEN. Yes.

Mr. HARRIS. So it has to be reappropriated if it is to be used in case it is needed?

Mr. DIRKSEN. Yes.

Mr. DWORSHAK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I yield to the gentleman from Idaho.

Mr. DWORSHAK. Is any of this money to be used for postwar rehabilitation and relief purposes in Europe?

Mr. DIRKSEN. Is the gentleman speaking of the general terms of the bill or the \$500,000,000?

Mr. DWORSHAK. The \$500,000,000.

Mr. DIRKSEN. This \$500,000,000 has been earmarked for a very specific purpose. It was set out in the Steagall bill. We devised a formula under which within a given period of time after the war ends a floor shall be kept under basic commodities and a comparable price under those commodities that may not be regarded as basic. Maybe it will take \$500,000,000, maybe it will not, maybe no money will be required for that purpose, but we did not want to be put in the position of coming back to the House and Senate at some future time, if that situation should arise, and asking for this money. It is far better to leave it on the shelf and if it is not used it will revert to the Treasury.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. VORYS. Why is it that this is carried in lend-lease? If it has to do with our domestic program why is it carried in lend-lease and administered by FEA?

Mr. DIRKSEN. That has been a matter of some speculation and curiosity. My own answer is that the Foreign Economic Administration carried on a number of operations in foreign fields, including a stabilization endeavor and all those sorts of things. So there was no other appropriate place to put the money, and I suppose if it became necessary to operate in foreign fields for the purpose of stabilizing prices, this would be as good a place as any. I can think of no other reason for it.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Is this to stabilize foreign or domestic prices?

Mr. DIRKSEN. Domestic prices.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. This House has just voted to centralize all of that in the Department of Agriculture. To one not on the Appropriations Committee, this is the most cock-eyed idiotic proposition I ever heard of, to stick into lend-lease, which has life of 1 year, something that is to be used in the future. It is one of those things that if you want to do it, do it. I certainly think the amendment should be defeated and the Appropriations Committee told to go back and bring in here something right.

Mr. DIRKSEN. My friend from Ohio ought to remember that we have carried this in the bill for at least 3 years; so it does no harm to carry it in this bill now. I urge adoption of this amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 202. Any defense article, information, or service procured from funds appropriated by this title or prior acts appropriating funds to the President for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of said act of March 11, 1941, as amended, shall be retained by or transferred to and for the use of such department or agency of the United States as the President may determine, in lieu of being disposed of to a foreign government, whenever in the judgment of the President the defense of the United States will be best served thereby: *Provided further*, That none of the funds appropriated in this title shall be used for the payment of any subsidy on agricultural products produced in the continental United States nor for the purchase or distribution of any food products for use in Puerto Rico or the Virgin Islands.

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. VORYS of Ohio: Page 42, after line 17, strike out the period, insert a comma and the following: "*Provided, further*, That no part of any appropriation contained in title II shall be used for the procurement of food for any European country not paid for on terms and conditions of sale prescribed by the President."

Mr. VORYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, this amendment would carry out the principle contained in the lend-lease amendment which we put in the bill this year which was passed by both Houses, and which President Truman while Vice President voted on in the Senate because it was a tie vote, and which he signed as Vice President and later as President. He expressed the principle of this amendment in the letter to a group of us recently, which I mentioned earlier today, in this language:

I am, of course, in full agreement with you that the Lend-Lease Act does not authorize aid for purposes of postwar relief, postwar rehabilitation, or postwar reconstruction, and that in the liquidation of any lend-lease war supply agreements, articles transferred after they are no longer necessary for the prosecution of the war should be disposed of only on terms of payment.

That principle is written into the French, the Belgian, and the Dutch agreements. Those three countries are getting lend-lease food under this bill and presumably are paying for it under this principle. According to the hearings there is about a billion dollars' worth of food to be distributed in Europe under this appropriation we are voting on today. This amendment would provide that such food, being obviously not for use in the Japanese war but being a postwar supply, to prevent discontent and political unrest in Europe, shall be paid for by the countries receiving it. The countries who receive it are France, Belgium, Holland, and Norway, all of which are labeled under UNRRA as being countries who said that they could pay for their own relief. The United Kingdom will receive about \$775,000,000 worth of food. Possibly not all of it is to be delivered to Europe as this amendment would provide.

This amendment simply provides that when food is delivered to these countries who need the food and who have the resources to pay for it, that they shall pay for it on terms and conditions of sale prescribed by the President. That language is copied from the lend-lease amendment which we passed this year. There is this simple proposition: Either these countries are going to pay for it or go in debt for it or we are going to pay for it or go in debt for it. If postwar food for these countries is a legitimate project of lend-lease after the amendment we have made to the law, then there is no limit to lend-lease and it becomes a postwar lunch-counter system. These nations should be too proud to accept their grocery bill from the United States even though they may have to get their groceries here. We should, in rehabilitating Europe, help to rehabilitate not only their diet but their self-respect, and these countries that can afford to pay for this food should be required to pay for it. As far as European Russia is concerned, the hearings developed that food shipments to European Russia have been stopped. So we come down to a very simple proposition under this amendment and that is merely whether the countries that need food of some kind for postwar purposes should pay for it or whether we should pay for it. UNRRA, which this House helped to create, has fallen down on its relief job. Since we contribute two-thirds of the supply and have the head management of UNRRA, we should get busy and make UNRRA work and carry on its relief job rather than using the loophole in the Lend-Lease Act, which was deliberately left in there for transition purposes, as a method of turning lend-lease into a postwar relief mechanism.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that debate on this amendment and all amendments thereto close in 1 minute.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CANNON].

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, this amendment is so out of place in the pending bill, would so disrupt diplomatic negotiations now pending, that I am certain no one here would want to act on it on such superficial consideration as we are able to give it here on the floor. The committee should insist on it being taken up at some more appropriate time and place. I ask that the amendment be rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VORYS].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, the remainder of the bill is purely stereotype matter. I therefore, ask unanimous consent that the remainder of the bill be considered as read.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee do now rise and report the bill back to the House with sundry amendments thereto, with the recommendation that the amendments be agreed to and that the bill as amended do pass.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. WHITTINGTON, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that Committee having had under consideration the bill (H. R. 3579) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1945, and for prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1945, and June 30, 1946, to provide appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1946, and for other purposes, had directed him to report the bill back to the House with sundry amendments thereto, with the recommendation that the amendments be agreed to and that the bill as amended do pass.

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment? If not, the Chair will put them en gross.

The amendments were agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that further consideration of the bill be postponed until tomorrow.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

FURTHER MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A further message from the Senate, by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate had passed a bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 937. An act to amend the act suspending until June 30, 1945, the running of the statute of limitations applicable to violations of the antitrust laws, so as to continue such suspension until June 30, 1946.

HOUR OF MEETING TOMORROW

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet tomorrow at 11 o'clock.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

TEMPORARY INCREASE IN POSTAL RATES

Mr. DOUGHTON of North Carolina submitted a conference report and statement on the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 184) to continue temporary increases in postal rates on first-class matter, and for other purposes.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 30

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the conferees on the part of the House on Senate Joint Resolution 30 may have until 12 o'clock midnight tonight to file a conference report and statement for printing under the rule.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. HAVENNER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Mr. MANSFIELD of Texas was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. GORDON asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an article which appeared in the Washington Evening Star and comments made by Foreign Economic Administrator, Leo Crowley.

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. BRYSON. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, I ask unanimous consent to have until midnight tonight to file a report on H. R. 3587.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

WAR FOOD ADMINISTRATOR, MARVIN JONES AND FIRST ASSISTANT TO THE WAR FOOD ADMINISTRATOR, GROVER B. HILL

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, and revise and extend my remarks and include some statements by Marvin Jones and Grover B. Hill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, this week two of the most popular men in the Government service will leave the War Food Administration. I refer to Hon. Marvin Jones and his assistant, Hon. Grover B. Hill. This morning they had their last staff meeting. Each made a statement at this meeting, as follows:

STATEMENT BY MARVIN JONES AT LAST WAR FOOD ADMINISTRATOR'S STAFF MEETING, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 27, 1945

This is the last staff meeting I shall attend as War Food Administrator.

It has been an interesting experience and I have enjoyed the responsibilities and the work which you have shared with me during these two great war years.

It is with sincere regret that my intimate association with the truly remarkable men who compose this staff is to be ended.

We have had difficulties, we have had problems, we have had headaches, we have had differences of opinion.

But almost without exception when decisions have been made, we have had teamwork in carrying out our programs.

On the brave shoulders of you men has rested the responsibility for our wartime food supplies during the greatest war in all history, and of helping to solve some of the gravest problems that ever met human intelligence. These arose not only in connection

with the planting, cultivating, and harvesting of crops, but also with storing, processing, transporting to shipside, repacking, and loading on ships.

Then, too, we have had the problems of requirements, allocations, lend-lease and support price purchases and combined food board operations.

Few people outside our own organization have any conception of the many difficulties involved. The fact that we have had the best-fed Army that ever marched to battle and the best-fed Navy that ever sailed the seas, a well-fed civilian population, and at the same time have sent millions of tons to our fighting allies, is abundant proof of a well-done job.

In the aftermath the hardships will be forgotten and only the fine memories will remain. I assure you of my deep affection for each of you.

We have all endeavored to fit our programs into changing conditions and demands. Changes are especially significant in wartime. We meet and mingle together as human beings, each with his own peculiar whims, talents, and philosophy. These must all be woven into a pattern of harmony in a spirit of tolerance if worthwhile results are to be attained.

There is nothing static in nature. We go forward or we deteriorate and die. All nature is growth and decay and regrowth sometimes in finer form.

We do best when we master material things and bend them to the higher spiritual purpose.

When a man lifts up his eyes and looks beyond the mechanics of the universe, he truly begins to grow. He looks back over the receding road of the past and then forward through the clouds that overhang the future. Beneath and above things he seeks the law—not temporary, man-made rules, but the universal law. He wants to know how the earth was formed and the stars were made. He knocks at the very gates of heaven and asks why.

Some of you may think that I have been too insistent in these staff meetings. But I have only sought to light the torch of worthwhile things in which you are privileged to play a vital part. I am proud of this staff membership. I have great faith in your ability and integrity as individuals and as a group. You have been generous to me personally, but what is far more important, you have been faithful to the cause of agriculture—to the men and women in distant places who produce the basic wealth of our country.

May I express the hope that down the long lane of the future, when transportation facilities are less limited, you may take every opportunity of close contact with the people of the farm and ranch—and listen to the philosophy of the men and women who live close to nature, who in their daily work meet her face to face, and who somehow seem closer to the stars. You can learn much from them.

Then, too, they are the people we represent. It is easy to listen to the siren voices of those who would have us forget that fact. Farm people are in faraway places, but the future of our country is anchored in their heart purposes. "When tillage begins, the other arts follow; the farmers, therefore, are the founders of human civilization."

All through my life I have tried to remain close to the soil, for there is found the setting for wisdom's jeweled ring. There is something in contact with the earth that tends to build character—and I have needed a good deal of building. Farm people live close to nature and therefore close to God. Of all people, they come nearest to being free. They believe in liberty, equality, manhood, fair play, and freedom from every form of new and old world caste and privilege, and from the tyranny of wealth and birth. They swung the first axe that rang in the wilder-

ness of this country. They have helped make it great. They have fought in its battles from the beginning.

Throughout my legislative career and in my administrative experience, I have wanted to consult them and to leave the largest possible discretion and management in their hands. I have fought for the local committee systems in connection with all major policies, and in my judgment this is why they have lived.

The Department of Agriculture will remain great only so long as it remains true to the farmers.

In the processes of free government, you have been trusted with their interests. I have every confidence you will prove faithful.

I came to this organization on leave of absence to do a wartime assignment. I did not seek the place. I did not wish it. I came as a soldier would go at the request of his commander. I am proud of the record of the War Food Administration. It will compare favorably with that of any other war agency. With an Army and Navy fighting in hundreds of places on land, on sea, and in the air all over the world, with the hundreds of problems arising from the grass roots all the way to the battle fronts, with the feeding of our people who have forged the weapons for that Army and Navy, and with the necessity of helping to feed our allies, the liberated areas and war prisoners, not a single battle has had to be postponed for want of food, and no one in our country has gone hungry. On that record we stand ready at all times to be judged.

May I say again how much I appreciate this fine group of men. You have been long suffering and kind to me. You have covered my mistakes with the mantle of charity and carried on. You are the appointed people in a great mission. The scepter of authority is passing from my grasp to what I hope may prove to be more worthy hands. I know you will continue to be loyal to your great calling. I wish for each of you the most of the best of everything that is worthwhile in the years to come.

My first assistant has been Grover B. Hill, my friend since boyhood days.

Few men know agriculture and livestock as does Grover Hill. No one knows the organization of the Department of Agriculture better than he does. He has been with it 11 years. He has more friends in and out of the Department than any man I know. The people out in the far stretches of this country who are engaged in the actual production of food have complete confidence in him. Expressions of regret that he is leaving have been many.

STATEMENT BY GROVER B. HILL AT LAST WAR FOOD ADMINISTRATOR'S STAFF MEETING, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 27, 1945

It has been a real opportunity and privilege to have served in as great and as important an undertaking as the War Food Administration at a time when civilization itself was hanging in the balance and when so much depended on food.

The production of food has been our primary objective. That objective has been achieved. No one has gone hungry. Not a single battle has had to be postponed on account of food. Our fighting forces have been the best fed that ever fought a war. Our task has been far from easy. All the difficulties incident to a great war have had to be met and surmounted.

There were no blueprints or maps to follow. There was no one to ask who knew. There was no time for trial and error. We were sailing uncharted seas, and had to steer by dead reckoning. We have been most fortunate that our ship was captained by a man of judgment and courage. Yes; we have been fortunate to have had Marvin Jones

for our captain. Leadership is always important, but when you are doing something new it becomes all the more important. Marvin Jones took the wheel on June 28, 1943. He chartered the course and pointed the way. He avoided details until over-all policies could be determined. His first step was to remove all restrictions, with the one exception of tobacco, that might hamper production. He called for all-out production of food. He got it. His watchword has been production. He has fought waste. He has called on everybody to share scarce food with others. He not only has asked for all-out production but he has worked hard to make it possible.

He has asked for and obtained appropriations for support prices. He has been successful in this. The \$5,000,000,000 appropriation for Commodity Credit Corporation is eloquent testimony to his work. He has fought for prices that have made it possible for the farmers to continue to produce. He has never faltered nor looked back. He has never considered how a decision would affect him personally. His only yardstick has been "Is it to the best interest of the war effort?"

The production of food does not consist altogether of growing it in the fields, it must be processed, transported, and distributed. When you consider that all this had to be done for a fighting force of 13,000,000 men fighting all around the world, for a Nation of 130,000,000 people, and in addition supplies for our allies, then we begin to realize the importance of the undertaking that you and I have been connected with and have had a part in. You have been the generals who have put the plans into effect and made them work. The best evidence that you have done a good job is the fact that today nearly everything that could have been done has been done. The greater majority of things you have fought for and worked for during the past 2 years are now in effect. You can well be proud of your record. The best proof of your success is that each year has been an all-time high in production. To be sure, someone might contend that things could have been different, but does anyone know whether that way would have been better or produced more food? The organization is in good shape. It is a great organization with as fine a personnel as could be found anywhere. I am proud to have had the privilege of serving with you. The road should be easier from here out. With the wealth of experience and information that you have, you are no longer sailing on uncharted seas. Farm machinery will be more plentiful, labor easier to obtain, more fertilizer available, insecticides in better supply, rubber and gasoline easier to get. I don't mean that our troubles are over. Far from it. The people will be more restless at restraints. They will be less patient when shortages occur. Yes, there will be headaches, but you will know how to handle them. And looking back, I have no regrets. If I had the same road to travel again, I think I would do the same things that I have done under similar circumstances.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin asked and was given permission to extend the remarks he made in Committee of the Whole and to include certain tables and a letter.

Mr. GOODWIN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial.

Mr. LATHAM asked and was given permission to revise and extend the remarks he made in Committee of the Whole and to include a reprint from the New York Sun.

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan (at the request of Mr. CASE of South Dakota) was granted permission to extend his

remarks in the RECORD and to include a letter.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota asked and was given permission to include in his remarks made in Committee of the Whole today an excerpt from a letter.

Mr. HAGEN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks and to include a speech by Roy F. Henderson of Chicago on the food problem in Europe.

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House the gentleman from California [Mr. VOORHIS] is recognized for 15 minutes.

PUBLIC LAW NO. 361

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, the Seventy-seventh Congress passed a law known as Public Law 361, which reads as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs is hereby authorized and directed to include in the regulations pertaining to service connection of disabilities additional provisions in effect requiring that in each case where a veteran is seeking service connection for any disability due consideration shall be given to the places, types, and circumstances of his service as shown by his service record, the official history of each organization in which he served, his medical records, and all pertinent medical and lay evidence.

In the case of any veteran who engaged in combat with the enemy in active service with a military or naval organization of the United States during some war, campaign, or expedition, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs is authorized and directed to accept as sufficient proof of service connection of any disease or injury alleged to have been incurred in or aggravated by service in such war, campaign, or expedition, satisfactory lay or other evidence of service incurrence or aggravation of such injury or disease, if consistent with the circumstances, conditions, or hardships of such service, notwithstanding the fact that there is no official record of such incurrence or aggravation in such service, and, to that end, shall resolve every reasonable doubt in favor of such veteran: *Provided*, That service connection of such injury or disease may be rebutted by clear and convincing evidence to the contrary. The reasons for granting or denying service connection in each such case shall be recorded in full.

Approved, December 20, 1941.

It happens that I was the author of this bill in the House and I have perhaps more than the usual interest in seeing that the law is carried out by the Veterans' Administration in accordance with the intent of Congress.

I have asked for this time in order to state that on the basis of extensive inquiries of service officers connected with various veterans' organizations and investigation of a large number of individual cases, I can come to only one conclusion: That the Veterans' Administration has fallen far short of carrying out the intent of Congress with regard to the operation of Public Law 361.

The principal purposes of Congress in enacting Public Law 361 was to require by statute that due consideration be given to the service record of the military organization in which each veteran has served. For the law states in effect that if that organization passed through experiences in war which could reasonably have caused the disability from which the veteran suffers, then that disability should be rated as service connected in the absence of positive proof to the con-

trary on the part of the Government. However, I find that generally service records have not been considered, that the histories of the military units in which veterans served in war are hardly ever included in the files of the veterans whose cases are under consideration. One national service officer of a veterans' organization who daily handles dozens of veteran cases informed me that he had never seen any record or notation of the type of service through which a man had passed, nor had he known an instance where a service record of a veterans' unit was given real consideration. Another service officer told me that he had never seen in a veteran's case file any history of his outfit, nor had he heard of a rating board indicating intention to consider it.

I shall only say that in this case the procedure of the Veterans' Administration is clearly not in accord with the intent of Congress in passing this law. Someone in the Veterans' Administration, indeed someone connected with every rating board in the country, should be made responsible for seeing that the histories and service records of military organizations involved should be included in the files of veterans whose cases are under consideration.

Beyond this Public Law 361 aimed to strengthen and make more definite the right of disabled veterans to present evidence in their own cases in addition to evidence developed by the staff of the Veterans' Administration. It was the intent of Congress to be of assistance to those veterans whose official medical records are not complete and to give to them an opportunity to more readily establish service connection in cases where examinations by the Veterans' Administration may not be as thorough as they should be. It is the clear intent of the law to require that all lay or medical evidence properly substantiated in connection with the case be given due consideration in determination of service connection, which is another way of stating that such evidence must be accepted at its face value. In practice, however, we find that statements of physicians, however competent, who are not on the staff of the Veterans' Administration are frequently almost completely disregarded and at the very least are discounted in an unwarranted fashion, compared to the findings of Veterans' Administration doctors themselves. The actual practice of rating boards seems to be to virtually ignore outside medical affidavits and to give consideration to the opinions of Veterans' Administration doctors alone.

I am informed by men who have been daily in contact with the adjudication of veteran cases that affidavits made from memory are frequently ruled out even though made by a man who served right next to a veteran in combat and actually saw him fall before the fire of the enemy. Under the law, in my opinion, acceptance of such affidavits as evidence is mandatory. But it appears that the only kind of affidavits that are being generally accepted in cases under Public Law 361 are those bearing upon specific dates and events which are generally known. Obviously this so delimits the field in which a veteran can present effective evidence

from those with whom he served or from those who treated him immediately after service as to virtually nullify the intent of Congress as to this law. Again the controlling evidence is always that furnished by the medical staff of the Veterans' Administration.

Perhaps the explanation of what has happened to Public Law 361 is not far to seek, however. For the instructions to the local rating boards from the central office of the Veterans' Administration were calculated, whether intentionally or not, to cause any self-respecting board to do next to nothing about the act and to go about its business as if Congress had never done anything at all. The text of the service letter sent out with regard to Public Law 361, dated April 24, 1942, is as follows:

1. In order that the adjudicating agencies of the Veterans' Administration may have the fullest possible knowledge of the reasons for and intent of Public, No. 361, Seventy-seventh Congress, there is attached hereto a copy of the report of the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation, which accompanied H. R. 4905, enacted into law as Public, No. 361, Seventy-seventh Congress.

2. It will be seen that the report, which was quoted in full in the report of the Senate Finance Committee on the same bill, indicates the purpose and intent of the act to place in brief legislative form the policies of the Veterans' Administration governing determination of service connection, with particular reference to those persons who engaged in combat with the enemy during a war, campaign, or expedition. These include the acceptance of satisfactory lay and other evidence consistent with circumstances and conditions of such service notwithstanding absence of official record of injury, the resolution of reasonable doubt, and the recordation in writing of the reasons for granting or denying service connection in each such case. This does not contemplate or require a general review, but individual cases will be reviewed at the request of the claimant or his representative.

3. Upon receipt of a request for review of a claim under the amended regulations, the case will be referred to the rating agency, whose decision will be in conformity with R. and P. R-1009 (A), or paragraph 14 (b) (1) Veterans' Administration service letter, Administrator's office, dated March 1, 1941, on the subject Decentralization of Authority to Adjudicate Claims * * * in the event it is determined that a reversal of the prior decision is obviously warranted by clear and unmistakable error shown by the evidence in file at the time the prior decision was rendered. In cases where clear and unmistakable error is not found and the rating agency is, nevertheless, of the opinion that a revision or an amendment of the previous decision is warranted on the facts of record, the case will be submitted to the director of the service concerned, under R. and P. R-1009 (B) or paragraph 14 (B) of the service letter, supra; if the director of the service concerned is in agreement with the rating agency of original jurisdiction, monetary benefits authorized by virtue of such determination made pursuant to the provisions of this service letter shall, if otherwise in order, be made effective as of the date of submission of the claim to the director of the service concerned.

4. The veteran and his representative will be informed of the decision rendered by the rating board and of the right to appeal therefrom notwithstanding the fact that the previous rating of record has become final. In those cases where the right of appeal is exercised timely and a favorable decision is rendered by the Board of Veterans' Appeals,

pursuant to the provisions of this service letter, monetary benefits if otherwise in order shall be authorized effective in accordance with existing procedure.

5. Particular attention is invited to R. and P. R-1031 (D) requiring a complete explanation of the reasons for granting or denying service connection, in cases where the veteran engaged in combat with the enemy, to R&P 1101 (A), or paragraph 14 (B) of the service letter, supra, and other instructions governing the preparation of decisions of rating agencies of original jurisdiction and of the Board of Veterans' Appeals. Full compliance will be had with these instructions, and, in addition, rating sheets and decisions of the Board of Veterans' Appeals will bear the notation, "Considered under Public, No. 361, Seventy-seventh Congress."

In simple language therefore the instructions were, and are, about as follows: First, that passage of Public Law 361 amounted to no more than enactment into law of a policy which the Veterans' Administration has followed all along; second, that if, however, any local rating board believes it has not followed that policy, then third, it can in effect declare it has failed in the past to do its duty, but fourth, the local board is not in such a case to correct its own error but instead is to send the case to the central office in Washington for review.

It is quite clear, is it not, that the local boards are going to have to be pretty courageous people to tell central office that they have been violating an established policy and since that policy is now enacted into law they are sending a certain case up to central office so it can correct the wrong action of the local rating board. It is also true that cases which were sent up to central office by the local rating boards in the early days just after this act was passed were almost universally turned down—that is central office refused to make any adjustment in such cases. After this had happened a certain number of times it was only natural that the local boards should seek to save themselves the embarrassment of being further rebuffed by central office on cases referred to it under the terms of Public Law 361 and the service letter covering it. To some of the other results of this policy on the part of the Veterans' Administration I have previously referred.

Of course the fact is that there were decidedly new elements in Public Law 361, elements which anyone familiar with procedure in these service-connection cases from the veteran's side readily recognizes. Had the boards been given any leg to stand on, such as even a simple statement to the effect that this was a new law passed by Congress and that past procedure must be reconciled with it, then veterans might have benefited substantially from the action of Congress. As it is the benefits have been few and far between.

And yet this very measure fits perfectly certain circumstances arising out of the present war. Many a discharged airman has been told by the doctors examining him at the time of discharge that medical science does not yet know what the effect of flying at high altitudes may be upon a man's subsequent physical condition. These men are told upon discharge from the Air Corps to report for

periodic check-ups. But there have been cases where the Veterans' Administration has held it cannot accept one of these men into a hospital because there is no official evidence of a service-connected disability. Now up to the time of discharge, perhaps, no disability has appeared, but the doctors themselves say that they do not know what physical difficulties may afflict these men in the future. Unless their type of service, the experiences they have passed through in service, are taken into consideration exactly as Public Law 361 requires, these Air Corps veterans will have a hard time indeed in establishing their right to service connection for disabilities that may show up in the future and be directly traceable to high-altitude flying. If they do, it will be because we have failed to insist upon carrying out the clear intent of Public Law 361 and have permitted the presence or absence of official notations on medical records to be almost the sole factor in the determination of service connection. Few of these flyers will have any such notations on their records.

Mr. Speaker, I feel very strongly about this matter and unless it is possible to obtain correction of this situation so that this law will be administered as Congress intended, I shall press for enactment of further legislation which will achieve the results which we thought we were achieving in the passage of Public Law 361. At least one such bill that I have already introduced is H. R. 150, the text of which I ask consent to include herewith. It will be seen that under the terms of this bill the local rating board would itself have the power to review claims where service connection of disability has been denied. And if the local board determined that in any such cases service connection should be and is established under present laws and regulations, then it could on its own motion correct the previous denial and make appropriate awards to the veterans. This bill would also, it will be seen, give the veteran an appeal to the United States district court in the district wherein he resides from a decision of the Veterans' Administration which he believed to be contrary to law or in violation of his rights under the law.

A bill to authorize such procedure as to the adjudication of claims for benefits administered through the Veterans' Administration as is designed to assure an equitable evaluation of all facts and factors pertinent to the claim, and for other purposes

Be it enacted, etc., That the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs is hereby authorized and directed to promulgate regulations decentralizing authority to the adjudicative agencies in the field whereby upon request by a veteran or his representative such field agency shall be authorized to review any claim wherein service connection of disability has been denied and if determination is made by such field agency that in their opinion, service connection is established under the laws and regulations, in accordance with the intent underlying enactment of the act of December 20, 1941 (Public Law No. 361, 77th Cong.), monetary benefits shall be awarded without regard to previous denial and without the necessity for securing approval of central office.

SEC. 2. The Administrator of Veterans' Affairs is hereby authorized and directed to promulgate regulations governing procedure

on appeal from denial of claims for benefits under laws administered by the Veterans' Administration which shall require preparation by each rating agency of the Veterans' Administration of original jurisdiction of a brief on appeal in each compensation or pension claim, prepared for submission to the Board of Veterans' Appeals. Each brief on appeal shall contain a complete résumé of the records and other evidence in the particular claim relating to the issue or issues involved on appeal, and such résumés shall not incorporate any statement of opinion or conclusion on any or all of the evidence by any person preparing any such résumé, but shall constitute a factual digest of the contents of each such record, and other evidence.

SEC. 3. (a) That any veteran of the United States Army, Navy, or Marine Corps who shall have served honorably and received an honorable discharge and who is suffering from disability incurred in, or aggravated by, said military service, or who is permanently and totally disabled by reason of non-service-connected disability, who shall have made application for compensation or pension under the laws as administered by the Veterans' Administration and been denied all or any part of such compensation or pension may appeal from the decision of the Veterans' Administration to the United States district court in the district wherein he resides, which court shall hear such appeal under the rules and regulations thereof. The said Veterans' Administration, through their own attorneys, shall have the right to present the evidence on file with them in the veteran's claim and contest the case in the regular manner. The said veteran, in person or through any person or organization of his own choosing, shall have the right to present his side of the case on appeal before said court, in the regular manner.

(b) The veteran, in the event the court gives judgment in his behalf, shall receive the same compensation which the law sets forth as due him under the laws governing the Veterans' Administration and shall be entitled further to the sum of \$100 as attorney's fee.

(c) The attorney representing said veteran shall have no claim on any compensation allowed said veteran except the sum of \$100, and any agreement looking toward further compensation for the attorney of record in the case shall be a misdemeanor and punishable by a fine not to exceed \$500 or by imprisonment not to exceed 2 years, or both, in the discretion of the court.

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. REED] is recognized for 45 minutes.

RAILROAD REORGANIZATIONS UNDER SECTION 77 OF THE BANKRUPTCY ACT

Mr. REED of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on February 14 of this year the House, with only one dissenting vote passed and sent to the Senate the Hobbs bill (H. R. 37), a measure designed to eliminate abuses in railroad reorganizations under section 77 of the Bankruptcy Act. This measure, you will recall, provides among other things, for a judicial review of plans of reorganization as submitted by the Interstate Commerce Commission and it sets up a standard to guide the Commission in determining the total capitalization of reorganized companies. It provides that total capitalization shall not be reduced if it does not exceed either the actual investment in the property or the findings of value made by the Commission itself under the physical valuation provisions of section 19-a of the Interstate Commerce Act. It likewise contains what is generally referred to as the "raincheck" feature, providing that

any part of the capitalization in excess of the value of the debtor's property may be converted into no-par stock at the rate of one share for each \$100 of such excess. This would give stockholders who were wiped out or "liquidated" an opportunity to participate in the future earnings if any, of the reorganized company without in any way jeopardizing the rights of the bondholders.

The unanimity with which the House acted on this measure is an indication of its realization that abuses do exist and that they should be remedied. It was likewise an expression of confidence in the Committee on the Judiciary, which gave this intricate measure many months of arduous study and as the result thereof had unanimously recommended its passage to the House of Representatives of the Seventy-eighth and Seventy-ninth Congresses, respectively. On the day of its passage, about 4 months ago, it was my privilege to address this House for the purpose of explaining some of its features and commenting on some of the gross inequities which, to me, seemed destined to occur in railroad reorganizations unless the Hobbs bill became law. Among other things, I, at that time, said:

The large bondholding institutions which are able to get together and protect their interests throughout these proceedings, have reaped a rich reward, for they will own the reorganized companies. They have appeared in every case—sometimes separately, more generally as a group consisting of a dozen to a score—never more than 25. The result has been victory for them—for the property is being turned over to them, while little stockholders—more than a hundred thousand in number—have been left out in the cold.

Mr. Speaker, I am neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet. Those words were neither predictions nor extravagant allegations. They were merely reasonable deductions of what would inevitably happen based upon what was then taking place. It is now possible to bring forth specific proof. The exhibit A that I now offer in evidence is that of the reorganization of the Chicago and North Western Railway which was completed on June 1 of last year.

On April 30 of this year, the reorganized railroad issued its annual report as of December 31, 1944, from which we may now accurately survey the rank injustice that was perpetrated upon the stockholders of that railroad. During the decade of 1931-40, American railroads to the extent of fully one-third of our total railroad mileage eventually found themselves in the hands of the courts. This was not due to overcapitalization, or higher wages or even to decreased earnings. It came about because of their inability to market new securities to replace bond issues which had matured during the dark days of the depression. The Chicago & North Western was one of the railroads thus adversely affected and, being unable to meet its obligations on their due date, was forced to file a petition in the United States District Court setting forth the fact that its bonds were in default and asking for relief under the provisions of section 77 of the Bankruptcy Act. This statute you will recall was enacted in 1933. Though

attached to and a part of the Bankruptcy Act, it is in nowise a bankruptcy statute. It was enacted to expedite reorganizations of railroads whose property, unlike other properties, cannot be sold and the proceeds distributed among the creditors. The Chicago & North Western was not bankrupt, and, as a matter of fact, neither are any of the other railroads now in the process of reorganization. Its assets exceeded its liabilities by a wide margin. So, also do theirs. Its earnings and theirs, even while in the hands of the courts exceeded respective interest requirements. Ironically section 77 of the Bankruptcy Act is entitled, "An act for the relief of debtors." Such was the intent of Congress. It has, however, served as a bludgeon for the extermination of debtors, the confiscation of their property and the enrichment of their creditors. Had temporary emergency conditions not forced the Chicago & North Western Railway to take refuge in the courts, it would still be owned by its old stockholders who would now be receiving the benefit of its earnings.

A plan of reorganization of this railroad was drafted by the Interstate Commerce Commission and submitted to the United States district court in 1940. The plan cut the capitalization for the reorganized railroad to \$450,000,000 and by so doing failed or refused to recognize its assets by nearly \$200,000,000. Accordingly, certain of its junior creditors were forced to suffer a loss of approximately \$40,000,000 and the stockholders, preferred and common, were entirely denied participation in the securities to be issued in the reorganization proceedings. The Commission made a finding that for reorganization purposes, "the equities of both classes of stockholders have no value." In 1943, while the plan of reorganization was still before the court, there had accumulated in the hands of the trustee, a tremendous amount of idle cash—approximately \$100,000,000—enough to pay off a large portion of the senior obligations. Had it been so employed, the remaining senior obligations still outstanding would have been so reduced that there would have been available capitalization—even under the Commission's low figure of \$450,000,000—to allot new securities of the reorganized railroad to the old debenture holders in full, the old preferred stockholders in full and still leave something for the old common stockholders.

This situation was brought to the attention of the Interstate Commerce Commission by the railroad in its petition to them to request of the court a return of the original plan, whereby the opportunity might be accorded of paying off a large amount of debts, principal, and interest, at 100 cents on the dollar and the drafting of a new plan which would reapportion the approved capitalization of \$450,000,000. Thus the senior creditors and the debentures would have been satisfied in full and the remaining available capitalization could have been apportioned among the old preferred and common stockholders on an equitable basis. Although this simple procedure would have prevented the irreparable loss of more than \$100,-

000,000 to the debenture holders and old stockholders, the Commission held that it could not grant the railroad's petition because the law did not permit it to reconsider or modify a plan after it had been submitted to the district court, unless the court had subsequently disapproved it and, on its own initiative, returned it to the Commission. On the other hand, the court, like the Commission, was unable to accord relief, for the Supreme Court had held in *Ecker v. Western Pacific R. Corp.* (318 U. S. 448) and *Group of Institutional Investors v. Chicago Milwaukee, St. Paul & Pacific Railroad Co.* (318 U. S. 523) that a finding by the Commission that the stocks of a railroad are without value is final and cannot be altered or reviewed by the courts. Hence, under an act for the relief of debtors, the 17,000 stockholders of the Chicago and North Western Railway suffered the confiscation of their property because the Commission's hands were tied by the statute and the court's hands by the decisions of the high tribunal. It was among other things to cure that defect in the law that this House passed the bill (H. R. 37) of which the eminent gentleman from Alabama [Mr. Hobbs] is the author. While in 1943 the unfairness of the situation was clearly apparent, it was not until a month ago that the extent of these gross inequities could be accurately measured in dollars and cents. Although the North Western's petition for reconsideration of the plan was made in 1943, the reorganization was not concluded until June of last year.

The balance sheet of the newly organized railroad as of December 31, 1944, truly reveals the appalling injustice perpetrated upon the Chicago and North Western stockholders. That annual report was published late in April and I hold in my hand a copy. It discloses that as of December 31, 1944, the reorganized North Western Railway had assets of nearly \$650,000,000, which are capitalized at only \$344,000,000. We can wholly disregard the asset value of \$650,000,000 but we cannot but observe that over and above the present capitalization of \$344,000,000 and the low capitalization of only \$450,000,000 fixed by the Commission, there is a margin of \$106,000,000. That margin could have been utilized to allot new securities in full to the old debentures saving them \$40,000,000, apportion new securities in full to the old preferred stockholders and still leave a substantial balance per share of available capitalization for the old common stockholders—and this, after the railroad paid \$20,000,000 in taxes during the year 1944. Promptly after reorganization, however, and largely from great accumulations of cash which had accrued during reorganization, the railroad paid dividends of \$20 per share on the new preferred stock and \$5 per share on the new common stock. These dividends, of course, were paid, not to the thousands of stockholders who had held their stock for many years and believed it a valuable investment that would protect them against economic adversity, or provide them with necessities in their old age, but largely to a handful of America's largest bondholding corporations—the

new owners of the Chicago and North Western Railway.

Even after the payment of these generous dividends, the railroad still had tremendous amounts of cash on hand, and, I am informed, has already, during the early part of this year, reduced its indebtedness by many millions, has retired all of its 4 percent first mortgage bonds amounting to \$54,000,000 and issued new 3 percent bonds to take their place. The annual interest saving from this refunding operation will amount to more than \$800,000 annually and will swell, by that amount, the high earnings which the new North Western stocks are making for their new owners. Even before these added annual profits from refunding, earnings available in 1944 for its new preferred stock were \$16.56 per share and for its new common, \$12.95. This situation was not unforeseen. It was freely predicted by several witnesses who testified before our subcommittee in 1943 when the Hobbs bill was being considered. In November of 1944, 5 months after the reorganization was consummated, and 6 months before the publication of the first annual report of the reorganized corporation, the Investment Bankers Association of America received a report from its Committee on Railroad Securities. One paragraph of its 20 pages is devoted to the North Western. It is rather interesting. It reads as follows:

The Chicago & North Western might be termed almost grotesque in financial strength. Through reorganization and debt retirement, fixed charges have been reduced from \$16,000,000 to \$3,000,000. So rapid has been the pace of debt and capital reduction that it is hard to determine exactly what the working capital is at any one time but it would appear to be about \$50,000,000, or equivalent to the fixed charges for 17 years.

Perhaps the term "grotesque" is the best way of describing the whole reorganization scheme of this railroad. At any rate the thousands of small stockholders of this railroad, who have seen their property thus confiscated are certainly justified in regarding as "grotesque" the act of Congress which served as the weapon for their destruction rather than the vehicle for their conveyance over an era of depression.

Although I participated in the hearings on the Hobbs bill, it was difficult for me to believe that inequities so glaring in character and so prodigious in magnitude could have occurred. After studying the North Western report, I undertook an investigation on my own behalf. It took me to New York, where I talked to bankers, brokers, railroad executives, attorneys, and newspapermen. I was amazed when I learned of the unconscionable and unbelievable profits of Wall Street speculators at the expense of small stockholders whose investments had been declared worthless by the Commission, and the action of the Commission in so declaring them worthless had been upheld by the United States courts because they were without legal power to accord relief. Shrewd Wall Street speculators with great statistical organizations and corps of experts were quick to realize the value of property represented by railroad stocks which the Commission had decreed should be wiped out.

Their astute legal staffs were cognizant of the fact that the courts were without power to override the findings of the Commission. The profits made by these astute speculators is beyond belief. "Grotesque" in this case is a word too mild for application. These profits were not within the limits of 10, 25, 50, or even 100 percent. No. They were not within the limits of 1,000, 3,000, 5,000, or 8,000 percent. My investigation shows that they have reached the amazing figure of 9,800 percent, and are still mounting.

Speculators purchased the preferred stock which was to be issued in the Chicago & North Western Railway at figures as low as \$2.25 per share. Soon after reorganization was completed a dividend of \$20 per share was paid on that stock and its present market price is \$75 per share. Thus these speculators, on a \$2.25 investment, own a share of stock worth \$75, upon which they have already, in their first dividend check, received back, not only the purchased price of the stock, but \$17.75 to boot. In other words, they have made a neat profit of 4,222 percent. Common stock to be issued in the same reorganized railroad sold as low as 50 cents per share. Upon completion of reorganization a dividend of \$5 per share was paid on that stock and its present market price is \$44.37½ per share. Thus common stock speculators, on 50-cent investments, received each a share of stock worth \$44.37½ upon which they have already, in their first dividend check, realized a return of their original purchase price and \$4.50 to boot. These astute financiers have made a profit of 9,800 percent.

Of course, these mathematical calculations are based upon the lowest market position of the "to be issued" Chicago & North Western stocks during reorganization. Nonetheless, the profits realized by Wall Street speculators on these stocks have been unconscionable, and—yes, perhaps more aptly characterized—"grotesque."

It may be asserted that the North Western is an extreme case and other reorganizations will not result in the same or similar injustices. That contention may be entirely correct. I have but scant information relative to the conditions prevailing in other reorganizations. Neither have I the time or the facilities for obtaining that information. I do know that there are now pending before the Commission and the courts plans for the reorganization of many of our most serviceable railroads, including the St. Louis Southwestern; Denver & Rio Grande Western; Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul & Pacific; New York, New Haven & Hartford; St. Louis-San Francisco; and Missouri Pacific. While I have no way of ascertaining, I am inclined to the belief that many of the holders of senior securities in these roads are the same persons and corporations who held similar securities in the North Western and are now its new owners. In that connection I cannot but be somewhat perplexed at the anomalous situation prevailing in the St. Louis Southwestern reorganization, wherein stock which actually earned \$50 per share per annum during reorganization was declared worthless by the Commission and

its value awarded to bondholding institutions. In the absence of clarifying language as embodied in the Hobbs bill, the stockholders of this railroad are denied recourse to the courts, because the highest tribunal in the land has said:

Congress apparently intended to leave the determination of valuation "of any property for any purpose under this section" to the Commission. The language chosen leaves to the Commission, we think, the determination of value without the necessity of a reexamination by the court, when that determination is reached with material evidence to support the conclusion and in accordance with legal standards (*Ecker et al. v. Western Pacific* (318 U. S. 448)).

Mr. Speaker, I think most of the Members of this House share with me in their high regard for excellent accomplishments down through the years of the Interstate Commerce Commission, but, after all, it is not a court, neither is it an arm of the executive, it is an independent agency created by Congress to perform functions which, but for its existence, must needs be performed by Congress itself. It is our prerogative, as representatives of the people, to delegate powers and functions to this body to determine the limits of its jurisdiction and to fix standards by which it must govern its activities. Of course, the Commission ought at all times to carry into effect the intent of Congress, and it is when Congress is satisfied that it is not so doing that the enactment into law of specific directives and standards must be resorted to. The Commission is not infallible; it is made up of honest, intelligent, well-meaning men subject, however, to the faults, weaknesses, and frailties with which all human beings are endowed. So, also, is the judiciary. But the decisions of judges are subject to review. So, likewise, should be the decisions of the Commission, particularly when, as the direct result thereof, people are peremptorily deprived of their property.

The bill (H. R. 37), introduced by the distinguished gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HOBBS] and passed by this House on February 14 will, if enacted into law, remedy this defect in the existing statute and accord to the stockholders of railroads under reorganization the right to their day in court such as is enjoyed by other litigants throughout the length and breadth of this Republic.

In May of this year an opinion was handed down by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Tenth Judicial Circuit in the case of the Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad reorganization. Judge Orie L. Phillips, speaking for the court, said:

The broad language of the Supreme Court in the Western Pacific case and the Milwaukee case compels me to conclude that we cannot disturb the Commission's finding of valuation nor the finding of the Commission, confirmed by the trial court, that the equities of the unsecured creditors and the preferred and common stockholders have no value. Nevertheless, I feel impelled respectfully to suggest that the elimination of a substantial portion of the claim of the holders of the general mortgage bonds and all of the claims of stockholders and unsecured creditors, on the basis of a valuation resting wholly on an estimate of future earnings, is harsh treatment of such claims. I say this be-

cause, while according expertness to the Commission, it is my opinion that such future earnings cannot be estimated with a degree of certainty that is not likely to result in grave injustice. The injustice to junior security holders which may result from a valuation based solely on an estimate of future earnings has aroused the attention of Congress, and corrective legislation has been introduced. H. R. 4960 has already passed the House and is pending before a Senate committee.

H. R. 4960 referred to by the Judge was the title number of the Hobbs bill as introduced in the Seventy-eighth Congress. With his opinion, Judge Phillips quotes in full the report of your Committee on the Judiciary which accompanied this measure when it was submitted to this House for consideration. He concludes with this significant statement:

But as suggested above, it is my conclusion that only through corrective legislation or a more liberal attitude on the part of the Commission can the junior security holders obtain relief.

It was in the spring of 1943 during the Seventy-eighth Congress that Representative HOBBS first introduced his bill. Had it been promptly enacted, the stockholders of Chicago's oldest railroad would not have been ravished; more than \$100,000,000 of value would not have been handed on a silver platter to a group of rich bondholding corporations, and Wall Street speculators would not have succeeded in making profits at a rate which makes Ponzi seem a piker. Delay was the effective weapon that blocked consideration of that legislation in the Seventy-eighth Congress—delay occasioned mostly by opponents of the bill who, time and again, requested opportunity to prepare and submit additional data in support of their contentions and were invariably accorded that privilege by the subcommittee who believed that they were acting in good faith and desired to give full consideration to their views. The bill was finally favorably acted upon by the committee and reported to the House, but the Seventy-eighth Congress adjourned before it could receive consideration. It was reintroduced, reconsidered by the committee, and passed by this House early this year. But by that time the North Western reorganization was completed and the new owners in possession of the railroad.

A perusal of the hearings on this bill discloses the significant fact that from among those who appeared before the committee or expressed opposition to the bill, three are now directors or voting trustees of the reorganized North Western Railway. Just how many of these same opponents of the Hobbs bill have a similar financial interest in other pending railroad reorganizations I do not know but I am satisfied that a great many of them do. The dozen or more reorganizations that are now pending before the Commission and the courts are juicy morsels yet to be plucked. More than one hundred thousand stockholders face a fate that may be as tragic as that experienced by the late owners of the Chicago & North Western Railway. Indeed the Commission itself in its report submitting the plan of reorganization of the

Chicago & North Western Railway, to the United States district court said:

All the commissioners subscribing to this report and order are deeply sympathetic with an attempt to find some method by which the present stockholders might be lawfully afforded a continuing interest in this property, whether in the way of subscription warrants or a subordinate class of common stock, despite the necessitous condition of the debtor requiring early and drastic reorganization. We reluctantly express the view that this is here impossible, for the law as it stands is inexorably against such a course.

The enactment of the Hobbs bill (H. R. 37) which passed this House almost unanimously, will with its raincheck feature, correct the defect in the law as deplored by the Commission and will furnish a means by which adequate protection may be accorded stockholders against the looting of their savings by powerful creditors.

It will be a definite expression and outspoken mandate by Congress that the statute intended to relieve debtors of their burdens shall not be utilized as a vehicle to relieve them of their properties. It will lock the barn door before the remaining horses are stolen.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. DREWRY, Mr. SASSCER, Mr. IZAC, and Mr. ANDERSON of California (at the request of Mr. VINSON), for Wednesday, June 27, 1945, on account of official business.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

Mr. ROGERS of New York, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills and a joint resolution of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H. R. 378. An act authorizing an appropriation to carry out the provisions of the act of May 3, 1928 (45 Stat. 484), and for other purposes.

H. R. 688. An act to amend the joint resolution of January 27, 1942, entitled "Joint resolution to enable the United States to become an adhering member of the Inter-American Statistical Institute";

H. R. 802. An act for the relief of Camp No. 1, Alaska Native Brotherhood, Sitka, Alaska;

H. R. 892. An act for the relief of Madeline J. MacDonald;

H. R. 912. An act for the relief of William H. Shultz;

H. R. 993. An act for the relief of Mrs. Ellen C. Burnett;

H. R. 1038. An act for the relief of Daniel B. Johnson;

H. R. 1044. An act for the relief of Marlin-Rockwell Corp. with respect to the jurisdiction of The Tax Court of the United States to redetermine its excessive profits for its fiscal year ending December 31, 1942, subject to renegotiation under the Renegotiation Act;

H. R. 1055. An act for the relief of the Realty Bond & Mortgage Co. and Robert W. Keith;

H. R. 1058. An act for the relief of W. A. Smoot, Inc.;

H. R. 1059. An act for the relief of Leonard D. Jackson and Elsie Fowkes Jackson;

H. R. 1091. An act for the relief of Harold J. Grim;

H. R. 1243. An act for the relief of Mrs. C. J. Rhea, Sr.;

H. R. 1320. An act for the relief of M. Elizabeth Quay;

H. R. 1328. An act for the relief of Mrs. Cecilia M. Tonner;

H. R. 1453. An act for the relief of Edith M. Powell;

H. R. 1482. An act for the relief of the legal guardian of Samuel Wadford;

H. R. 1488. An act for the relief of Austin Bruce Bowen;

H. R. 1599. An act to confer jurisdiction upon the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claim of Norfolk-Portsmouth Bridge, Inc.;

H. R. 1611. An act for the relief of Charles E. Surmont;

H. R. 1617. An act for the relief of Hugh M. Gregory;

H. R. 1677. An act for the relief of Hires Turner Glass Co.;

H. R. 1678. An act for the relief of Mrs. Ada Vert Illinico;

H. R. 1756. An act for the relief of the estate of the late Demetrio Caquias;

H. R. 1792. An act for the relief of the White Van Line, Inc., of South Bend, Ind.;

H. R. 1812. An act to authorize an award of merit for uncompensated personnel of the Selective Service System;

H. R. 1891. An act for the relief of the Grandview Hospital;

H. R. 2001. An act for the relief of Betty Ellen Edwards;

H. R. 2002. An act for the relief of Joseph Wyzynski;

H. R. 2003. An act for the relief of the legal guardian of Stewart Martin, Jr., a minor;

H. R. 2113. An act to amend the Federal Farm Loan Act, the Emergency Farm Mortgage Act of 1933, the Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation Act, the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, and for other purposes;

H. R. 2125. An act to amend the Canal Zone Code;

H. R. 2158. An act for the relief of the Cowden Manufacturing Co.;

H. R. 2286. An act for the relief of Jane Thayer;

H. R. 2322. An act to provide for the issuance of the Mexican Border Service Medal to certain members of the Reserve forces of the Army on active duty in 1916 and 1917;

H. R. 2552. An act to amend paragraph (c) of section 6 of the District of Columbia Traffic Act, as amended by act approved February 27, 1931;

H. R. 2700. An act for the relief of Alice Walker;

H. R. 2721. An act for the relief of the Tobey Hospital;

H. R. 2727. An act for the relief of the estate of Herschel Adams, deceased, and Pleas Baker;

H. R. 2730. An act for the relief of Mrs. Jane Strang;

H. R. 2754. An act to validate titles to certain lands conveyed by Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes and to amend the act entitled "An act relative to restrictions applicable to Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma," approved January 27, 1933, and to validate State court judgments in Oklahoma and judgments of the United States District Courts of the State of Oklahoma;

H. R. 2875. An act to amend an act entitled "An act to fix the salaries of officers and members of the Metropolitan Police force and the Fire Department of the District of Columbia";

H. R. 2839. An act to increase the salary of the executive secretary of the Nurses' Examining Board of the District of Columbia;

H. R. 2925. An act for the relief of Nelson R. Park;

H. R. 2944. An act to continue in effect section 6 of the act of July 2, 1940 (54 Stat. 714), as amended, relating to the exportation of certain commodities;

H. R. 2949. An act to extend 5-year-level-premium-term policies for an additional 3 years;

H. R. 3059. An act authorizing the Postmaster General to continue to use post-office clerks and city letter carriers interchangeably;

H. R. 3074. An act for the relief of the heirs of Henry B. Tucker, deceased;

H. R. 3193. An act to permit waiving of the bonds of Navy mail clerks and assistant Navy mail clerks, and for other purposes;

H. R. 3232. An act to amend section 3 of the act entitled "An act to authorize the President to requisition certain articles and materials for the use of the United States, and for other purposes," approved October 10, 1940, as amended, for the purpose of continuing it in effect;

H. R. 3233. An act to permit members of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, Coast and Geodetic Survey, Public Health Service, and their dependents, to occupy certain Government housing facilities on a rental basis without loss of rental allowances.

H. R. 3234. An act to amend the act entitled "An act to authorize the President of the United States to requisition property required for the defense of the United States," approved October 16, 1941, as amended, for the purposes of continuing it in effect;

H. R. 3306. An act making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of such District for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1946, and for other purposes;

H. R. 3395. An act to extend through December 31, 1945, the termination date under the Renegotiation Act; and

H. J. Res. 136. Joint resolution to provide for the establishment, management, and perpetuation of the Kermit Roosevelt fund.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 6 o'clock and 27 minutes p. m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, June 28, 1945, at 11 o'clock a. m.

COMMITTEE HEARINGS

COMMITTEE ON WORLD WAR VETERANS' LEGISLATION

There will be a meeting of the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation, in open session, Thursday, June 28, 1945, at 10 a. m., in the committee room 356, Old House Office Building.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

589. Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, a letter from the Administrator, Office of Price Administration, transmitting an estimate of personnel requirements, for the quarter ending June 30, 1945, was taken from the Speaker's table and referred to the Committee on the Civil Service.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XXII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. TARVER: Committee on Appropriations. Report pursuant to House Resolution 50. A report on War Food Administration spoilage of food; with amendment (Rept. No. 816). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. O'HARA: Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. S. 233. An act

granting the consent of Congress to the State of North Dakota to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Missouri River; without amendment (Rept. No. 817). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. O'HARA: Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. S. 234. An act authorizing the construction of a free highway bridge across the Yellowstone River near Fairview, Mont.; without amendment (Rept. No. 818). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. HARRIS: Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. S. 454. An act to revive and reenact the act entitled "An act creating the Arkansas-Mississippi Bridge Commission; defining the authority, power, and duties of said Commission; and authorizing said Commission and its successors and assigns to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near Friar Point, Miss., and Helena, Ark., and for other purposes," approved May 17, 1939; without amendment (Rept. No. 819). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. O'HARA: Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. S. 527. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the St. Croix River at or near Hudson, Wis.; without amendment (Rept. No. 820). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. LEA: Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. S. 574. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Columbia River in Clatsop County, Oreg.; with amendment (Rept. No. 821). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. RABIN: Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. H. R. 476. A bill to revive and reenact the act entitled "An act creating the St. Lawrence Bridge Commission and authorizing said Commission and its successors to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the St. Lawrence River at or near Ogdensburg, N. Y.," approved June 14, 1933, as amended; with amendment (Rept. No. 822). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. O'HARA: Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. H. R. 3150. A bill to revive and reenact the act entitled "An act to authorize the city of Duluth, in the State of Minnesota, to construct a toll bridge across the St. Louis River, between the States of Minnesota and Wisconsin, and for other purposes," approved August 7, 1939; with amendment (Rept. No. 823). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. CROSSER: Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. H. R. 3373. A bill authorizing the reconstruction of the Spring Common Bridge on Mahoning Avenue, across the Mahoning River in the municipality of Youngstown, Mahoning County, Ohio; with amendment (Rept. No. 824). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia: Committee on Rivers and Harbors. H. R. 3477. A bill for the improvement of Savannah Harbor, Ga.; without amendment (Rept. No. 825). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. FLANNAGAN: Committee on Agriculture. H. R. 3549. A bill to provide for the conveyance of certain Weather Bureau property to Norwich University, Northfield, Vt.; without amendment (Rept. No. 826). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. BRYSON: Committee on the Judiciary. H. R. 3587. A bill to provide for the performance of the duty of the office of President in case of the removal, resignation, or inability both of the President or the Vice President; without amendment (Rept. No. 829). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. JACKSON (by request):

H. R. 3600. A bill to authorize the use of the funds of any tribe of Indians for insurance premiums; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

H. R. 3601. A bill to reserve certain land on the public domain in Nevada for addition to the Summit Lake Indian Reservation; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. RANKIN:

H. R. 3602. A bill to amend the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 to provide for a readjustment allowance for all veterans of World War II; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. BLAND:

H. R. 3603. A bill to provide for the sale of surplus war-built vessels, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. PATTERSON:

H. R. 3604. A bill to confer jurisdiction on the United States Court of Claims to hear and determine the claims of the Indians of California who were not parties to certain 18 unratified treaties; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

H. R. 3605. A bill to provide for a roll of the Indians of California and for the pro rata distribution of funds in the Treasury of the United States to the credit of said Indians, and their disbursement, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

H. R. 3606. A bill to provide procedure for the Indians of California to engage an attorney or attorneys to represent them, take such collective action as they deem proper, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. SPARKMAN:

H. R. 3607. A bill to authorize the President to appoint Gen. Omar N. Bradley to the office of Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, without affecting his military status and perquisites; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. REES of Kansas:

H. J. Res. 224. Joint resolution to provide that certain officers and employees in or under the executive branch of the Government shall be employed for no more than 44 hours a week; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of California, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to support House bill 2867 and Senate bill 868, authorizing annual payments to States, for the benefit of their local political subdivisions, based on the fair value of the national-forest lands situated therein; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to investigate the activities of the Federal Social Security Board with particular reference to the merit-system requirements; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BALDWIN of New York:

H. R. 3608. A bill for the relief of E. Waterman & Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama:

H. R. 3609. A bill to include as Spanish-American War service under laws administered by the Veterans' Administration certain service rendered by Stephen Swan Ogletree during the Spanish-American War; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. McGEHEE:

H. R. 3610. A bill to authorize payment of certain claims for damage to or loss or destruction of property arising from activities of the War Department or of the Army; to the Committee on Claims.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

1012. By Mr. COCHRAN: Petition of James A. Morris and 311 other citizens of Missouri, protesting against the passage of any prohibition legislation by the Congress; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1013. Also, petition of Charles R. Mason and 314 other citizens of Missouri, protesting against the passage of any prohibition legislation by the Congress; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1014. By Mr. RICH: Petition of Lycoming County Pomona Grange of Pennsylvania, No. 28, urging that the production of alcoholic beverages be discontinued; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1015. By Mr. WELCH: California Senate Joint Resolution 28, relative to memorializing Congress to enact House bill 2536, Seventy-ninth Congress, first session, relating to the recognition of transportation companies; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

1016. Also, California State Senate Joint Resolution 21, relative to memorializing Congress to support House bill 2867 and Senate bill 868, authorizing annual payments to States, for the benefit of their local political subdivisions, based on the fair value of the national-forest lands situated therein; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

1017. Also, Senate Joint Resolution 22, California Legislature, relative to amendment of the Federal Social Security Act in respect to old-age assistance; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1018. Also, California Senate Joint Resolution 27, relative to current movements for a lenient peace with Japan, and memorializing the President and Congress to insist upon complete and unconditional surrender; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

1019. Also, California Senate Joint Resolution 32, relative to memorializing the Congress of the United States to investigate through its appropriate committee the proposed construction by the War Department, that activities in connection with the said proposal be discontinued pending such investigation; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

1020. Also, California Assembly Joint Resolution 45, relative to memorializing the President, the Secretary of State, and the Congress to retain full control over Japanese-owned or mandated islands in the Pacific which heretofore have been, or hereafter may be, captured by the United States in the course of the war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

1021. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the National Adjutant, Twenty-ninth Division Association, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to urging General of the Army George C. Marshall to retain his present position as Chief of Staff of the United States Army at least until the termination of the war against Japan; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

SENATE

THURSDAY, JUNE 28, 1945

(Legislative day of Monday, June 25, 1945)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty and everlasting God, our Heavenly Father, at the white altar of peace where all divisive boundaries are forgotten, we bow in reverence and humility, praying for the enthronement of brotherhood in all the earth. May the institutions of justice, mutual understanding, and cooperative endeavor devised in these anxious yet hopeful days be but the instrument of Thy providence bringing to fulfillment at last the prophet's dream: "Violence shall be no more heard in thy lands, wasting nor destruction within thy borders."

Through the lips that speak in this forum of freedom may there be heard by a listening world the solemn summons to men of good will, of all colors and all nations, to a new commonwealth of all peoples in which power shall be administered as a sacred trust dedicated to the common good. In the Redeemer's name we ask it. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. HILL, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day Wednesday, June 27, 1945, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE—ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Chaffee, one of its reading clerks, announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills and joint resolution, and they were signed by the President pro tempore:

H. R. 378. An act authorizing an appropriation to carry out the provisions of the act of May 3, 1928 (45 Stat. 484), and for other purposes;

H. R. 688. An act to amend the joint resolution of January 27, 1942, entitled "Joint resolution to enable the United States to become an adhering member of the Inter-American Statistical Institute";

H. R. 802. An act for the relief of Camp No. 1, Alaska Native Brotherhood, Sitka, Alaska;

H. R. 892. An act for the relief of Madeline J. MacDonald;

H. R. 912. An act for the relief of William H. Shultz;

H. R. 993. An act for the relief of Mrs. Ellen C. Burnett;

H. R. 1038. An act for the relief of Daniel B. Johnson;

H. R. 1044. An act for the relief of Marlin-Rockwell Corp. with respect to the jurisdiction of The Tax Court of the United States to redetermine its excessive profits for its fiscal year ending December 31, 1942, subject to renegotiation under the Renegotiation Act;